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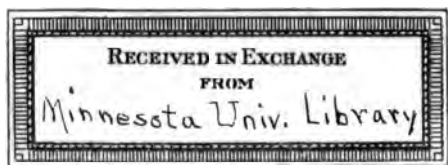
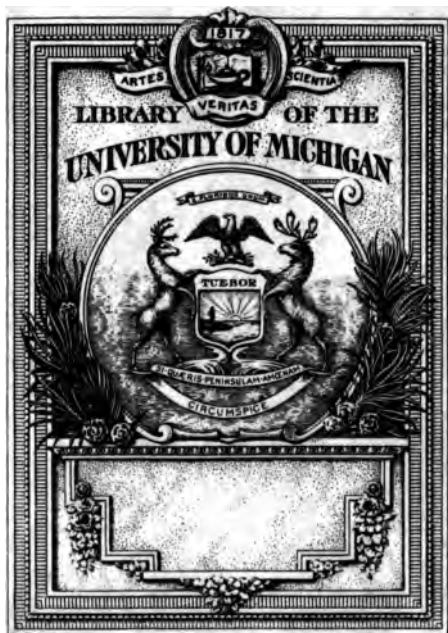
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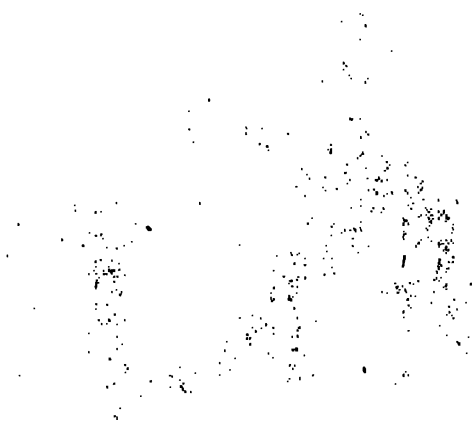


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HISTORY
OF
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY WILLIAM DEANS.

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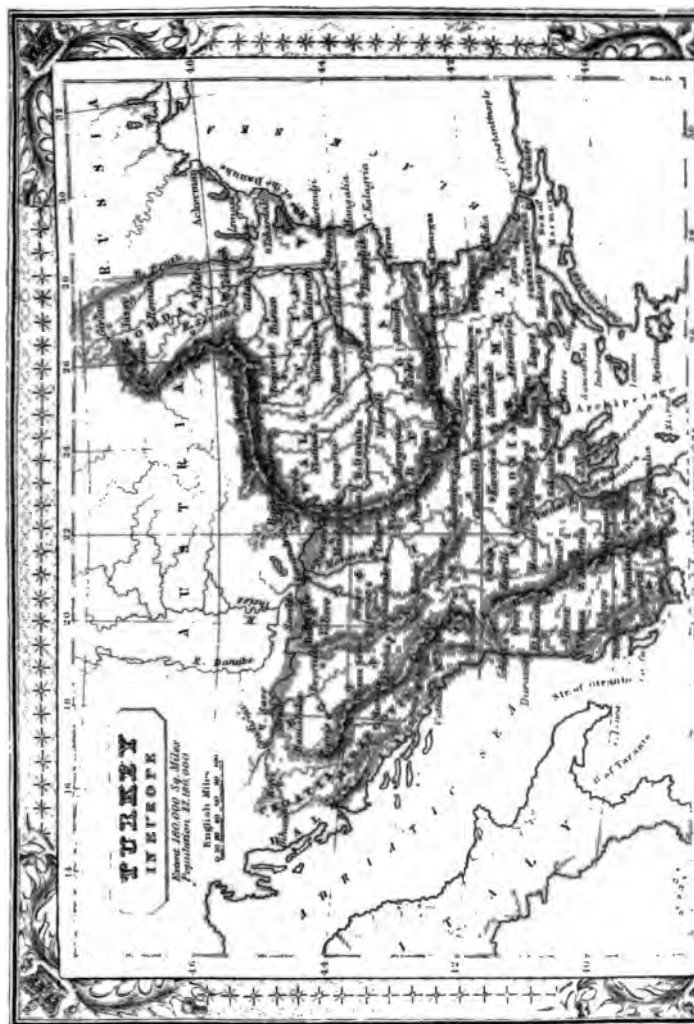
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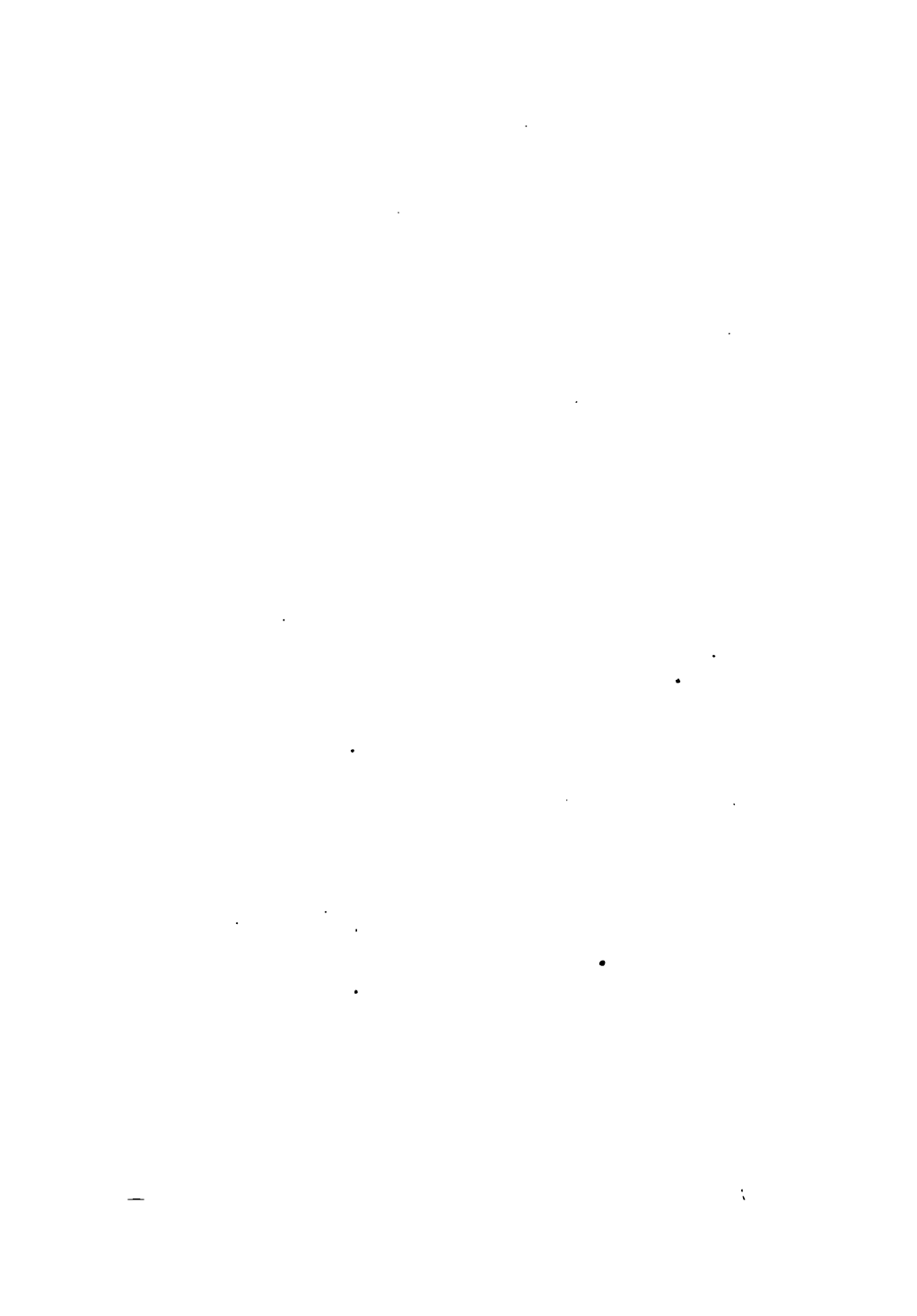
To write a complete history of the Turkish people, and of the empire founded by Othman, would involve an amount of labour which would occupy many years, and such a work would necessarily extend over many volumes. The following pages have no such pretensions. But at the present crisis, when the attention of the civilized world is anxiously directed to the contest in which the Turks are engaged, it has been considered desirable that a work embracing a condensed view of their history, in a form easily accessible, should be given to the public. This the author has attempted.

Early historians have written accounts of the origin and wars of the Turks, and of their first settlement in Europe; and there exist numerous histories of particular reigns or epochs, together with many valuable surveys and detached accounts of the Ottoman empire. To these may be added the voluminous works of travellers and foreign residents of respectability and talents, whose opinions are as conflicting as their works are numerous. The historians of Europe have not passed in silence the Turkish annals;

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HISTORY

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE astonishing rapidity with which a people whose origin is veiled in obscurity, started upon the scene of history, and by the extent of their conquests, caused such decided and permanent changes in Europe, places the Turks before us as a remarkable nation. Nor have their conquests been transient. [Under the name of Ottomans, they have subdued to their dominion the fairest and most fertile portions of Asia and Europe, and they retain, in the midst of civilization, the primitive habits and manners brought with them from the mountains of Turkistan. While other nations in Europe have been gradually advancing in science, literature, and the arts, this people, until very lately, have despised every improvement that did not administer to their arrogance and sensuality.]

Although the Ottoman empire has continued to recede for upwards of 150 years, during that period they have maintained many long and bloody wars with their powerful neighbours the Russians and Austrians; and independent of many external disasters, and the influence of long-continued internal oppression, they have often risen from the shock which seemed fatal to their cause, and they continue to hold their independence with vigour and tenacity. But even after this long period of decay, the world hardly affords a nobler empire than that which is swayed by the descendants of Othman. Bounded

by the Euphrates on the east, the Mediterranean or the Libyan deserts on the south, the Adriatic on the west, and the Ukraine on the north, it numbers amongst its inland streams the Nile, the Danube, and the Euphrates, and includes the cities of Egypt, of Nineveh, of Babylon, and Constantinople. It enjoys every advantage which the bounty of nature can accumulate. The vine, the olive, the orange and citron adorn its slopes. The oak and the pine flourish on its mountains, and wheat, maize and rice wave on its plains, supplying, almost without the aid of the husbandman, everything that administers to the wants, the comforts or the luxury of man. But blasted by the despotism of the east and the rigidity of Mahometan rule, all these blessings have not been able to stop the progress of internal as well as external decay.—An empire so extensive, and embracing provinces so remote, necessarily includes many different races and sects of people. Everywhere a half, in some places two-thirds, of the population of the empire are Christians; and nations and sects of all imaginable varieties compose the inferior classes of the Ottoman empire. The merchants are nearly all Greeks or Armenians, the sailors islanders from the Archipelago, the money lenders Jews, and the cultivators of the soil, generally descendants of the inhabitants of the old Greek empire. Yet three millions of Turks in Europe, and perhaps four millions in Asia retain all this heterogeneous population in subjection, and compel them to labour and pay taxes for the support of their government. The only parallel to this which the world exhibits, is the sway maintained by a much smaller number of British over the immense population of the Indian peninsula.

Although the Ottoman empire is still vast and extensive, it no longer attracts the fear of its neighbours. Neither the wisdom of its councils nor the valour of its forces are respected or feared in Europe. But the splendour of its former exploits and the celebrity of its ancient character arrest the attention of mankind. It is true that the wars of the Turks were disgraced by perfidy and stained by violence; but they exhibited such energy in pursuit and brilliancy in success that their claim to national pre-eminence for centuries stood undisputed.

While the social condition of the Turks, supported by every prejudice that can influence their manners, and confirmed by the inveterate habit of ages, may excite the pity or contempt of the Christian states, the maxims of their policy, and the injustice of their government, sanctioned alike by religion and law, have often incurred the indignation of Europe. The rapid progress of civilization, which during the last four centuries has so completely altered the civil and political institutions of the Western states, has made little perceptible progress in Turkey; and every discovery, whether in arts or science, which has contributed to the happiness and the power of man, has been obstinately resisted by the followers of Mahomet.

National prejudices strongly influence mankind. The patriotic mind may cling to the institutions of its country, and resist every encroachment tending to shake a fabric that has become venerable by the lapse of ages;—but experience dissipates prejudices; and measures suggested by experience, calculated to ameliorate the condition of the people and to facilitate the progress of national improvement, will be readily adopted by every enlightened government. The policy of the Turks ever has been to resist innovation. Incapable of overcoming their national prejudices and of breaking the fetters which an uncompromising and sanguinary religion imposed upon them, they have remained a monument of social and political degradation. For three centuries after their settlement in Europe, the martial discipline and religious enthusiasm of the Turks, and the energy of their character, rendered them not only powerful but dangerous to the independence of Europe. At the period of the Ottoman invasion the Christian states were sunk to the lowest point of ignorance and political disorder, and were incapable of resisting the Turkish arms. Three centuries of conquest completed the period of Ottoman greatness; since then it has suffered a gradual decay. Such is the influence of religion, science, and learning on national fortunes, that those conquerors who nearly accomplished the overthrow of Christendom, are now protected and maintained in Europe by the arms of the Christian powers.

Many circumstances contributed to put an end to the

1453

ascendency of the Turkish empire. After the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in A. D. 1543, the Greeks took shelter in Italy, and imported a tincture of their science and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence; and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing invented about this time extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements. The invention of gunpowder changed the art of war. Many innovations were soon made in religion, which greatly affected those that embraced them; and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world, and nations gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, police and cultivation in which they have ever since progressed.

The Turks, on the other hand, obstinately adhered to the barbarous maxims of their civil and religious institutions; and the arrogance of their character led them to resist all those improvements which so rapidly encouraged the civilization, and increased the power of Europe. The laws of war and maxims of policy brought with them from the Scythian deserts, or drawn from the Koran, began to render them odious to the civilized states; and they have not without reason been condemned for the illiberality, injustice, and feebleness of their government, the rudeness of their institutions, and the degradation to which they have fallen as a nation.

In the wars of the Turks they followed the policy of their Scythian forefathers; and in the triumph of their arms, it does not appear that they abused the rights of conquest beyond their traditional maxims, and the precepts of their religion and laws. Nor were the states of Europe more humane in the hour of victory; but while the laws of war by which the Christian powers are now regulated, partake of the progressive civilization of the age, the cruel maxims of the Scythian conquerors, and the sanguinary precepts of the prophet, have maintained, until lately, their ascendency over the Turkish mind.

In order that we may form some idea of the character of their warfare, it is necessary to glance at the policy pursued by some of the most remarkable of the Scythian conquerors.

The Scythians were uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war that restrain the exercise of national rapine and murder, are founded upon principles of national interest ; but considerations of justice, of hope and of fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The idea of permanent benefit by a moderate use of conquest—the fear that the desolation they inflict may be retaliated upon themselves—are considerations too delicate for the savage state.

After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in a calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. In the cities of Asia which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised with a regular form of discipline. The inhabitants of the conquered cities were assembled in a plain in the neighbourhood, and formed into three divisions, and were massacred on the spot by the troops, who had formed a circle round the captive multitudes. Many of the women were sold into slavery, and subjected to the most brutal violence. A few of the youth selected from the multitude were dragged into the armies of the conquerors. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigour. The most casual provocation often involved the whole people in an indiscriminate massacre. Flourishing cities and towns were levelled with unrelenting perseverance. The three great cities of Khorasin, Maru, Nisabour, and Herat, were destroyed by the arms of Zinghis ; and the number of the slain, of which an exact account was taken, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons. Tamerlane was educated at a later period, and in the profession of the Mahometan religion, yet his brutal ravages exceeded those of Attila or Zinghis ; “and,” says Gibbon, “both the Tartar and the Hun are justly entitled to the epithet of the ‘Scourge of God.’”

Although neither national nor individual barbarity can admit of any excuse ; yet if we consider the revolutions and wars of modern states which are justly entitled to the terms

civilized and polite, and consider the inhuman massacres and wasting desolations which have accompanied them, we will look upon the ravages of the Turks with greater forbearance; and when it is recollected that the maxims of their religion and the example of the prophet himself, directed them to conquest, and to the subjugation and conversion of the infidels, their wars, to them at least, had a divine sanction.

The lust of conquest, when associated with religious fanaticism, has been the greatest scourge of the human race. It must however be acknowledged that civilization has sometimes accompanied the standard of the conqueror. Wars that have been undertaken in the name of religion, have served only to desolate the earth with blood; and their infamy alone, as a lesson to mankind, renders them worthy of record. The history of the world can exhibit no such examples of cruelty and wickedness as those committed under the influence of fanaticism; and the warrior who unfurls his banner in the cause of heaven, readily finds an excuse for every enormity that a savage heroism can suggest. The sieges of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Acre by the Crusaders are proofs of this remark. Many instances—perhaps of a less striking kind, but not less cruel and barbarous—might be enumerated to show the ferocity engendered by religious warfare. The wars of the Turks, it must be remarked, were for the most part aggressive, and therefore of the most unjustifiable kind; but they do not exhibit more instances of wanton cruelty than the wars of other nations at the same period. If we be desirous of forming a correct judgment of the Turkish character, as exhibited through a long period of conquest, we must judge of them by comparison, and not by any standard of abstract virtue.

The Turks have long ceased to be aggressors; their more recent wars having been in self-defence or to crush their rebellious subjects. That which is now being waged against them has no parallel in the history of their aggressions. It has arisen through the influence of hereditary ambition directed towards territorial aggrandisement, and it has been conducted by cunning, cruelty, and falsehood: and this too, in an age of an advanced civilization, when some statesmen

and politicians had thought that war would no longer stain the history of man, and that the reign of reason and true religion had assumed the empire of the human mind. This inoffensive delusion had taken hold of the minds of some of our legislators, who upon many occasions have distinguished themselves in the House of Commons alike by their wisdom and eloquence, who have been followed by a multitude of weak and credulous people, ever ready to seize any chimera that may be adopted by their political leaders, at a time when schemes of a most unparalleled description were being hatched and developed by a northern power, for the partition and annihilation of an independent empire.

The wars of Russia and Turkey, always stirred up by Russia through the influence of a traditional idea of conquest, and covered by a cloak of religion, have been invariably directed by the most wanton cruelty. A general to whom a modern historian has assigned a place scarcely second to the greatest warriors of ancient or modern times, commanded the Russian army in 1789, and in the storming and sack of Ismail, thirty thousand persons, of whom one-half were inhabitants of the town, were put to the sword: fifteen thousand were made prisoners, and for the most part sold as slaves, and transported to the country of the conquerors. But the storming of Praga and Warsaw, stamps a still darker stain on the Russian nation, and fully illustrates the savage character of these Christian aggressors. Ten thousand soldiers and twelve thousand citizens of every age and sex fell amid the flames of the capital and by the swords of the conquerors; and the Vistula literally ran red with Christian blood. The panegyrist of Suwaroff says that "he was not only a general of the very highest order, but he was a man of a character and turn of mind peculiar to Russia, and which belong perhaps exclusively to the Sclavonic race." The campaigns of Suwaroff exhibit little beyond the energy and ferocity of savage warfare; and he cannot be said to have possessed either the military genius, or those qualities which constitute a great warrior, in the same degree with many of his Tartar ancestors, whose dress, habits and manners he affected. Under the disguise of a mere buffoon, he concealed the cunning and finesse of the Muscovite character; and either

through ignorance, hypocrisy, or superstition, he employed a kind of religious fanaticism to fortify his own bravery perhaps, and to excite the courage of his soldiers. Every one acquainted with the semi-savage state, knows how closely this description of character is allied to it; and if we consider Suwaroff as a type of the nation, Russia will not suffer by the comparison; but Europe has yet to learn whether the soldiers of the Czar have not lost some of the fearless energy of the conqueror of Ismail.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TURKS.

THE Turks claim their descent from *Turc*, the eldest of the sons of Japhet, who is represented as the progenitor of the Tartars and Huns. The founder of that martial people was suckled by a wolf, and like Romulus afterwards became the father of a numerous progeny; and the representation of that animal on the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather suggested the idea, of a fable, which was invented without any mutual intercourse by the shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia. These tribes occupied the great plains on the north of China, India, and Persia, between the Caspian and the sea of Japan, the cradle of those multitudinous nations, whose names, as Chateaubriand has said, "are known only to God," and whose path to civilized plunder was marked with blood. These immense regions, including an eighth of the land-surface of the globe, are now nearly desolate. The vast steppes of central Asia, the fertile and romantic slopes of the Altai, the great valley of the Amour, fit to contain all Christendom in affluence, and those trackless wilds stretching towards the Northern ocean, are thinly inhabited by about *two* to the square mile, while Siberia, many parts of which rival even Europe in the richness of its soil and the magnificence of its scenery, is doomed to be the home of European suffering and exile. Traces, however, are to be

found, indicating that a numerous population had at one period inhabited those remote regions.

In the early history of these countries, new conquerors continually succeeded each other; but it is easier for barbarians to conquer a state than to found and maintain a new empire; and if new kingdoms arose with rapidity, they fell as quickly into ruins. Some, however, among the numerous hordes which successively prevailed, established a lasting name. The different branches of the Tartars from the north, and the Arabians from the south, carried their arms over extensive regions, and formed great and permanent empires.

The name Scythian or Tartar has been generally applied to the inhabitants of those deserts and mountains, spreading from China to the Danube; and whether of similar or of different origin, have at various times poured out their vast swarms on all the surrounding countries. The Turks are a tribe of those Tartars.

The Altai mountains, which occupy the centre of Asia, at an equal distance from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas, were productive of minerals; and the iron forges for the purposes of war were wrought by the Turks, the most despised portion of the slaves of the great Khan of the Geougen. But their servitude could only last till a leader, bold and eloquent, should arise to lead them to freedom and victory. Such a leader appeared, and he sallied from the mountains at the head of the tribe. A sceptre was his reward; and the annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalized their valour and his own in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; and a decisive battle, which almost extirpated the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary, A. D. 545, the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. Faithfully attached to the mountains of their fathers, the royal encampment was seldom far removed from Mount Altai. The emperor's throne was turned towards the east, and a golden wolf on the top of a spear, seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. Their religion was characteristic of the primi-

tive and warlike habits of the Turkish tribes. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the supreme deity; they acknowledged in rude hymns, their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth; and their priests derived some profit from the art of divination. Their laws were rigorous and impartial: theft was punished by a tenfold restitution; adultery, treason, and murder with death; and no chastisement could be inflicted too severe for the inextinguishable guilt of cowardice. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their armies rapidly increased, and were proudly computed by millions; and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese. Their empire extended towards the east and north to Kamtschatka and within ten degrees of the polar circle. Their most important conquest in the south was that of the Nephthalites or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the important cities of Bochara and Samarcand, and who had carried their arms to the banks of the Indus. China was invaded and subdued; but the Turks, enervated by luxury, always fatal to a barbarous people, the vanquished nations resumed their independence, and the power of the Turks in China was limited to a period of two hundred years. In their rapid career of conquest, the Turks attacked the Ogars on the banks of the Till: their chief with three hundred thousand of his subjects were slain; and a small portion, preferring exile to servitude, pursued the road to the Volga. After a long and victorious march they arrived at the foot of Mount Caucasus, the country of the Alani and Circassians, where they first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. This fugitive tribe sent an ambassador, by the Euxine, to Constantinople, who was admitted to an audience with Justinian the Roman emperor, A. D. 558. He introduced himself as the representative of a powerful people willing and able to destroy his enemies, and asked from the emperor as a reward, precious gifts, subsidies, and possessions. The instruments of luxury were prepared to captivate the barbarian; silken garments, soft and splendid beds, and chains and collars of gold. The ambassador departed from Constantinople; and the barbarian tribes were easily

tempted to invade the enemies of Rome. These fugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tanais and Borysthenes; and before ten years had elapsed their camps were pitched on the Danube and the Elbe.

The Ogars, under the more famous appellation of Avers, swept over the Polish and German plains like a deluge. Many of the Sclavonian and Bulgarian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found as tributaries and vassals under the standard of the Avers. But they could not elude the jealousy and resentment of the Turks, whose ambassadors followed the footsteps of the vanquished to the Volga, Mount Caucasus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at last appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. The emperor renounced the Avers, and accepted the alliance of the Turks; and a treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai, 561.

The Romans experienced considerable advantages by their alliance with the Turks, whose powerful diversions on the Oxus against the Persians, their common enemy, were frequent and successful. But this extensive empire was not of long duration. The princes of the blood who were appointed to the government of its distant provinces, threw off their allegiance, and the vanquished tribes were encouraged by the government of China in resuming their independence. Many of the Turkish chiefs obtained other thrones and more wealthy dominions. The family of Samanee usurped the sovereignty of Persia, who were in their turn overthrown, and succeeded by that of Ghizni. The Persian empire had been long ruled by the descendants of Mahomet, who were nominally subject to the Saracen Kalifs; and Mahmood, one of those governors, having extended his empire from the Caspian sea to the Indus, was invested by the Kalifs with the title of Sultan. Upon the succession of his son Massud, in the year 1038, a body of Turks under Tongruel obtained possession of that kingdom. New hordes of Tartars, stirred up by their own wants and the persuasion of Zinghis, overthrew their neighbouring tribes, passed the Caucasus and Mount Taurus, which had so long shut up this

rough and savage people, and descending from the sterile regions of the north, as it were upon another world, bore down everything that opposed them, and the Turks were driven out of Persia, after having held that country for 170 years. In the general flight, Cursumes, the last of the kings of the Seljukian line that had reigned over them in Persia, died, and his son taking command of such of the Turks as followed his father, seized Babylon, and attempted to settle there, but they were pursued by the Tartars, and the kingdom founded by Tongruek was finally extinguished about the year 1202. The Turks, thus driven out of Persia, retired into lesser Asia, and taking advantage of the discord of the Latins and the Greeks, and of the Greeks among themselves, established the kingdoms of Kerman, Syria, and Roum.

The kingdom of Roum, in which the others eventually merged, extended from the Euphrates to Constantinople, and from the Black sea to the confines of Syria, with Nice for its capital; and Soliman, its first Sultan, entered into a treaty of peace with Alexius Comnenus, by which his conquests were confirmed to him. But his successor was assailed by the Crusaders, and the battle of Dorylæum stripped him of all his territories from Trebisonde to the Syrian gate. After the loss of Nice the royal residence was removed to Iconium, a small inland town, about 300 miles from Constantinople. Here the successors of Soliman continued to reign for nearly a century and a half, until overwhelmed in the general wreck by the ravages of Zinghis and his successors. The fragments of the monarchy were seized by the emirs or governors of the provinces. One of these emirs was OTHMAN, the founder of the Ottoman empire.

OTHMAN,

Grandson of Soliman, was of the tribe of the Oguzian Turkomans. His territory was but of small extent compared with the other governments which surrounded him, but it formed the nucleus of a mighty kingdom.

The civil broils between the elder and younger Androni-

cus, which at this period agitated the Byzantine empire, opened up to Othman a wide field of enterprise. The Asiatic subjects of the Greeks being left to their own resources, became an easy prey to the arms of the Ottoman chief; and he pushed his conquests over the greater part of Bithynia. Othman established his residence at Neapolis, about 20 miles from Nice, and assumed the prerogatives of royalty. He coined money, and caused his name to be used in the public prayers.

The Christian princes, alarmed at the progress of Othman, endeavoured, by one decisive effort, to crush the rising power of the ambitious Turk. The hostile armies met on the confines of Phrygia. Othman was victorious. The city of Brusa submitted to his son Orchan, who in the year 1318 made it the seat of the Ottoman government. The name of Othman is held in high estimation by the Turks; but modern writers allege that his glory is chiefly founded on that of his descendants.

This chief has been described as a shepherd and a robber; but if we admit the description, we must separate from these characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. He appears to have united the skill and valour of the warrior to the wisdom and prudence of the statesman. By a just, merciful, and impartial administration, he reconciled the conquered Christians to his government, and many who fled before his arms, returned to enjoy safety and repose under his protection.

CAUSES OF TURKISH GREATNESS.

In the character and exploits of Othman, we discover the operation of those principles which conducted his successors to such a height of grandeur and power. The precepts of the Koran enjoined them to convert or exterminate the infidels; and thus the propagation of their religion led to the desire of universal conquest, and they promised to themselves the empire of the world. The extraordinary vanity of the Turks, and their remarkable union in religion and matters of state, formed the basis of their power. To their vigilance in taking advantage of every opportunity of enlarging their

empire, they united courage, frugality, and temperance. The preservation of their military discipline engaged the continual attention of the Sultans ; and the soldiers and the people exhibited a degree of cheerfulness, obedience, and devotion to their sovereigns, rarely equalled, at least never surpassed. All those excitements which add energy to a people, were held out to the Turks. The obedient was rewarded and the offender punished ; a price was set upon valour and virtue, and the way laid open, through which every person might aspire to the greatest preferments in the state. On the other hand, the cowardly and disloyal might expect from the same sovereign power, nothing but disgrace, torture, and death.

During the dark ages, the Christian states, governed by courtiers, priests, or women, displayed no trace of intellectual energy. Their feudal governments, their improvident carelessness and discord, their ignorance of political economy, and their want of system in military and financial arrangements, rendered them individually weak and contemptible. The knowledge of general politics and mutual alliances being unknown, they never could be consolidated into a powerful confederacy. It was then that the Turks exhibited a superior brilliancy of character, and established a mighty and extensive empire. Their ardent temperament was inflamed by the precepts of the Koran ; and they were led by chiefs of singular ambition and skill. The Ottoman empire continued to be governed by a succession of Sultans of remarkable talents, with scarcely a single exception, from Othman I. to the death of Soliman, embracing a period of nearly 300 years, which adds a lustre to the Turkish annals to which there is scarcely a parallel.

But amongst that long array of mighty princes we seek in vain for the benefactors or instructors of mankind. In almost every country there have been reigns or epochs stained with civil blood, and marked with lasting disgrace ; but in Turkey a tyrannical and corrupt system has been transmitted from the origin of the nation to their latest posterity, confirmed by law, and sanctioned by those who are esteemed to be the priests of God. Science, literature, and commerce, and even the physical comforts of mankind,

have been disregarded by the Turks; and their empire exhibits a remarkable instance of the extinction of genius and learning by the existence of corrupt institutions and the baneful effects of a thoroughly despotic government.

The education and discipline of the Turkish soldiers were of a singular kind, but at the same time well calculated to train up a race of hardy veterans. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the Sultans were persuaded that to maintain the government of the sword, it is necessary in each generation to renew the soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia became the nursery of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by the consumpt of war, an inhuman tax of the fifth child, of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen the most robust of the youth were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained for the public service. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language; their bodies were exercised by every labour that could fortify their strength. They learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the companies of the Janizaries and severely trained to the military discipline of the order. In four successive schools, the art of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, to civil and even ecclesiastical employments. By slow and painful steps of education they gradually rose to the first honours of the empire. Each man was measured by the standard of his individual power, the sovereign having the boundless liberty of choice. The Ottomans were trained to abstinence and action and to habits of submission. The same spirit was diffused among the troops. Their silence, sobriety, patience and modesty are the theme

of praise even by their enemies. Victory with such troops could not be doubtful in a struggle with the armies of Europe, contaminated with the vices of intemperance and disorder, and the mutinous and independent spirit of chivalry.

The predominant features in the Turkish character are the natural consequences of their religion; and no institution, either civil or religious, perhaps ever exercised such a powerful influence on national fortune. Previous to the conquest of Persia by the Turks, the religion of Mahomet arose in the deserts of Arabia, and it was propagated with remarkable rapidity throughout Asia and Africa. By the fanaticism of his religion, as well as by the terror of his sword, the success of the prophet was remarkable and rapid. Within 200 years after his death the Mahometan empire was extended by his successors over the north of Africa, and great part of Asia; they had overrun almost all Spain, and entered Sicily, Italy, and France. The mandates of their spiritual despotism issued from the city of Bagdad, the capital of their empire. The commanders of the faithful were not exempted from human passions. They acquired habits of baseness and luxury, and their power fell under the sword of more hardy competitors. Even Mahomet himself was not capable of maintaining the sublime forbearance he had taught in the early part of his career; he deviated from the celestial spirit of the Christian doctrines, which he at first inculcated, and stamped his religion with the alloy of mortality. No doctrine could have been so well calculated as *predestination* to hurry forward in a wild career of conquest a set of ignorant and predatory soldiers. The assurance of booty if they survived, and paradise if they fell—a paradise in which were combined all the luxuries and pleasures which an eastern imagination could conceive—addressed itself to the cupidity and passions of his followers. It rendered almost irresistible the Moslem arms; but it likewise contained the poison which was to destroy their dominion. From the moment the successors of the prophet ceased to be aggressors and conquerors, the doctrine of predestination began its baneful work. Enervated by peace, and the sensuality permitted by the Koran, the Moslem regards every reverse as predestined by Allah, and inevitable.

The crescent continues to wane before the cross, and exists in Europe where it was once so mighty, only by the sufferance of the great Christian powers, probably ere long to furnish another illustration that "they who take the sword shall perish with the sword."

ORCHAN.

Orchan succeeded his father Othman, A. D. 1326, and from his conquest of Brusa, we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire. The Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the city assumed the appearance of a Mahometan capital. Brusa was adorned with a splendid mosque, hospital, and academy; and his skilful professors attracted students from Persia and Arabia. Formerly the Turkish troops consisted of cavalry, who fought without either pay or discipline; but Orchan established and trained a regular body of infantry. He also enrolled a body of volunteers to whom he gave pay, and he educated and trained his young captives as soldiers of the prophet. By these means he raised an army of twenty-five thousand disciplined troops. He also caused to be framed a train of battering engines for the use of sieges. Orchan was an ambitious and daring prince, and he promoted the designs of his father with success. He laid siege to the cities of Nice and Nicomedia, which quickly fell before his arms. He defeated the Christians under Andronicus the younger in a sanguinary engagement; and he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont.

The Turks under Soliman, the son of Orchan, in the year 1353, first established themselves in Europe. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in vessels prepared for the purpose, and entertained at Constantinople as the friend of the Greek emperor, and the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony. Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, had been thrown down by an earthquake, but it was quickly rebuilt and repeopled by the policy of Soliman. Orchan did not long survive the triumphs of his policy and

arms. His son Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged monarch wept and expired on his tomb, in the year 1359.

AMURATH.

Amurath, the son of Orchan, and brother of Soliman, succeeded to the sceptre. The Greeks had little reason to rejoice in the death of Orchan, for Amurath wielded the scimitar with equal spirit and effect. He overran the province of Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and Adrianople was chosen for the seat of his religion and government. Constantinople was now surrounded in Asia and Europe by the arms of a hostile and powerful monarchy; but Amurath, either through prudence or the pressure of circumstances, postponed for a time this easy conquest. The Caramanians, taking the advantage of his absence, collected a numerous army and invaded his dominions; but Amurath was not long in resisting this aggression. The hostile armies met on the plains of Dorylæum. The Caramanians fled. They were led by Aladdin, Sultan of Caramania, who had married a daughter of Amurath, and who was taken on the field of battle. The solicitations of his daughter, whom Amurath loved, saved Aladdin from the just reward of his ingratitude; and Amurath, with a noble generosity, restored the Sultan to his dominions. A number of Christian auxiliaries had been sent by Lazarus, prince of Servia, to aid the Caramanians. Those taken in battle were punished with severity, while the Mahometans were treated with mildness. Lazarus being informed of this, broke his allegiance to the Ottoman, and appeared at the head of a mighty army of Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians and Albanians. It required both the energy of Amurath and the might of the Ottoman empire to stem this formidable invasion; but his genius was equal to the emergency. The armies encountered each other on the plains of Casova; and after a bloody engagement the Christians broke and fled. Thus the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes was finally crushed. Lazarus lay dead upon the fatal field, and Amurath did not long

survive the victory. His invincible sword could not save him from the dagger of despair. While walking over the field of battle, a dying Servian started from a heap of slain, and pierced him in the belly with a mortal wound. Those countries which had yielded to the arms of Amurath, abounded neither in silver nor gold, but they were inhabited by a race that have been distinguished in every age, for hardiness of body and mind; and by a prudent institution, they were converted into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman arms.

Those haughty troops, called Janizaries, (or new soldiers,) the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the Sultans themselves, owed their institution to Amurath. By the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives. Many thousands of Europeans were by these means educated in religion and arms, and the new militia was named and consecrated with great pomp by a celebrated dervish.

This prince, the grandson of Othman, was modest and unostentatious, and a lover of learning and virtue. He administered the laws with impartiality; but the Moslems were scandalized at his absence from public worship, and to atone for this neglect, he built a spacious mosque at Adrianople.—He died in the year 1389.



BAJAZET.

Bajazet, the son of Amurath, ascended the throne, but he purchased his elevation with the blood of his brother, a practice too faithfully followed by his successors. Few more energetic warriors are recorded in history than Bajazet. He was named *Ilderim*, or the lightning, an epithet strongly expressive of his character, drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. He was incessantly engaged in hostilities either in Europe or Asia, from Brusa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates. While this monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed upon his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence. Anatolia

was reduced to obedience. The emirs of Ghermian, Carmania, of Aidin and Sarukhan, were stripped of their possessions; and after the conquest of Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman line. He returned to Europe, took the cities of Cratova and Widdin, and imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians. He passed the Danube to seek new subjects and enemies in the heart of Moldavia, and defeated Stephen on the banks of the Siret. Stephen, however, redeemed his honour. His mother having branded him as a coward, he collected an army, and surprising the Turks while intent in plunder, overthrew them with great slaughter. Bajazet and a few followers with difficulty escaped. Nothing daunted with this reverse, he turned his arms against Greece, and whatever yet adhered to that empire acknowledged a Turkish master. The title of emir was no longer suitable to Ottoman greatness, and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan from the Kalifs who served in Egypt. His ambition being inflamed by the achievement of this title, he turned his arms against Hungary.

Sigismond, King of Hungary, related to the emperors of the west, whose cause was that of Europe and the church, anticipated his designs, and with an army of 100,000 men, had taken Widdin and besieged Nicopolis. The bravest knights of France and Germany marched under the banners of Sigismond; and they proudly boasted that if the sky should fall they would uphold it on their lances. John Count of Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy, with four princes his cousins, and also cousins of the French monarch, and upwards of a thousand knights and squires, marched under the command of an admiral and marshal of France. But these splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline; and they had already computed the time when they should march to Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. Bajazet was rapidly approaching, and the youths, heated with wine, resenting as an affront the prudent advices of Sigismond, clasped their armour, mounted their horses, and rode in full speed to the vanguard. They fought, however, with invincible courage. They forced a rampart of stakes which had been planted against the cavalry,

and broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; but this handful of intrepid warriors was at last overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons which issued from the woods and charged them on all sides. The victory was complete; the confederate army was totally destroyed, and the greater part were slain or overwhelmed in the waves of the Danube. Such was the famous battle of Nicopolis, disastrous to the Christians but glorious to the Turkish arms. The defeat of the confederate army may be attributed to the imprudent impetuosity of the auxiliary troops, and the apathy of the Hungarians, who withheld their support at the critical period of the battle; but upon this occasion, the military talents of Bajazet, and the bravery and discipline of the Turks, were conspicuously displayed, in the secrecy and rapidity of their march, and in the order and evolutions of the battle. Sigismond escaping to Constantinople by the Danube and the Black sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom.

Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda, subdue Germany and Italy, and feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome. It was no miraculous interposition of the apostle nor a crusade of the Christian powers that checked his progress. It was a long and painful fit of the gout. The Count of Nevers and four and twenty lords, whose wealth was attested, were reserved by Bajazet; but the remainder of the French captives who survived the slaughter, were led before his throne and successively beheaded in his presence. If it be true that the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners on the eve of the engagement, it was only a just retaliation that fell on themselves. Costly presents and two hundred thousand ducats was the ransom of the Count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons. The French captives, before their departure, were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Brusa. They admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers. At the command of Bajazet the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by

this act of justice; but it was the justice of a prince who disdains to weigh the evidence, or to balance the punishment with the crime. The justice of kings is understood by themselves, and even by their subjects, with an ample indulgence for the gratification of passion and interest. The virtue of Bajazet was that of a conqueror, who in the measures of peace and war is excited by ambition and restrained by prudence; who confounds the greatness with the happiness of a nation, and calmly devotes the lives of thousands to the fame, or even the ambition, of a single man.

Constantinople was now the object of Bajazet's ambition; but the mighty Timour, a conqueror more savage than himself, appeared upon the scene, and the fall of the city was delayed about fifty years. It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed of the ambitious designs of the Sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body had not been impaired by sixty-three years; and after a short residence at Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum and the Euphrates. On his descent from the mountains of Georgia, Timour gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence which fermented two years before the final explosion. Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior; and between two such jealous and haughty neighbours, motives of quarrel were not wanting. The first epistle of the Mogul emperor provoked the Sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise. "Dost thou not know that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and laws? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Be wise in time; reflect, repent, and avert the thunder of our vengeance which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire," &c. In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul stung by such unusual contempt; and retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, laboured to prove that Timour had never

triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "What are the arrows of the Tartar against the scimitars and battle-axes of my Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection: seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzerum are mine, and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." "If I fly from my arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive *thy* wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." Nothing is a more unpardonable offence among the Turks than any violation by word or deed of the secrets of the harem, and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was imbibited by private and personal resentment. In his first expedition Timour was satisfied with the destruction of one or two frontier cities; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, whom he buried alive. As a Mussulman, Timour seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and the Mogul conqueror turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for the terrible encounter that awaited him. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot; but their fidelity was not equal. The Janizaries consisted of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia whose prince had taken shelter in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars. With this force, Bajazet entered Anatolia, and displayed his banners on the ruins of Suvas.

Timour again visited Georgia, and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list. In the pillage of Syria the Moguls had acquired immense riches, and the delivery of their pay and arrears firmly attached them to the imperial standard.

The fearless confidence of the Sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and he compared the Tartar's swiftness to

the crawling of a snail. Timour moved from the Araxes, through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia, with cautious circumspection, and his march was guided by order and discipline. The woods and mountains and rivers were carefully explored by his flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. He resolved to fight in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, and avoiding the camp of Bajazet, dexterously inclined to the left; and traversing the Salt desert and the river Halys, invested Angora. The Sultan, ignorant of the advance of Timour, returned on the wings of indignation to relieve the city. Both were alike impatient for the action. The vast army of Timour was assembled in order of battle on the plains round Angora which was soon to be the scene of a memorable battle, destined to immortalize the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. "For this signal victory," says Gibbon, "the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment and the discipline of thirty years. He improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army the mode of attack was the same; a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forward in their several divisions and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful the emperor gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported on the flanks and in the rear by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour."

In that day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and from various motives the greater part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; the forces of Anatolia

were drawn away to their lawful princes; and his Tartar allies had been tempted to abandon him by the letters and emissaries of Timour. In the right wing the cuirassiers of Europe charged with irresistible fury; but their array was broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit; and the Janizaries alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at last overcome by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers, and the unfortunate Sultan, who was afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, fled from the field, but he was pursued and taken. Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who dispersed on all sides his ministers of rapine and destruction.

Timour at first seemed inclined to treat the royal captive with the respect due to fallen greatness; but his clemency was changed into rigour, and Bajazet was subjected to harsh and ignominious treatment. He had to suffer many indignities; but the most severe of all was his confinement in an iron cage placed on a waggon which accompanied the marches of Timour. His strength of mind and body faded under the trial, and he survived his captivity only nine months. He died on the 9th March, 1403.

Almost all Asia was in the hands of Timour, from the Volga to the Persian gulf, from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago; but an insuperable though narrow sea rolled between Europe and Asia. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians and the other by the Turks. On this great occasion they forgot their difference of religion, and separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded. In his camp before Smyrna, the Mogul meditated the invasion of China, and entertained the romantic idea of subduing Egypt, and marching to the Atlantic ocean, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, and after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. His arms were turned to the east; and before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour despatched a numerous army beyond the Sihoon to clear the road and establish magazines in the desert; and by the diligence of his lieutenants he soon received

a perfect map of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irtysh to the wall of China. The emperor returned to his capital after a campaign of four years and nine months.

After some months of festivity passed in his capital, Timour unfurled his standard for the invasion of China. Neither age nor the severity of winter could restrain his impatience; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched three hundred miles from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, "where," says Gibbon, "he was expected by the angel of death." He expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai.

The Turkish empire received a severe shock in the conquests of Timour. When he evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs; and his five sons seemed eager to consume the remnant of their patrimony in civil discord.

Mustapha fought by his father's side at the battle of Angora; but among the captive children Mousa alone could be found. Isa reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora. Soliman, although not numbered in the list of emperors, checked the progress of the Moguls, and united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Brusa. He abandoned himself to dissipation, and was surprised by his brother Mousa; and as he fled from his capital was overtaken and slain. Mousa fell a victim to his ministers and the superior ascendant of his brother Mahomet. The short reign of this prince was spent in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy.

AMURATH II.

Amurath II. commenced his reign A.D. 1421. Immediately the peace of the empire was disturbed by the appearance of Mustapha who was supposed to have been slain at Angora. He gained the support of the Greek emperor,

and routing the troops of Amurath, ascended the throne of Adrianople. Mustapha, abandoning himself to sloth and luxury, Amurath again took the field; and Mustapha, deserted by his friends, exchanged a throne for a gibbet.

At last relieved from every legitimate rival, Amurath resolved to direct the whole strength of his empire against Constantinople, but he was diverted from his purpose by the incursions of the Hungarians. Resolving to chastise the invaders, he directed his arms against Serbia, and entering Hungary, invested the city of Belgrade. The intrepidity and skill of Hunniades compelled him to retire after a long siege, and the loss of 150,000 men. "They were defeated," say the Turks, "not only by the plague, but by engines cast in the form of tubes, which with the noise of thunder, and with flame and smoke, shot out balls of lead of many together, each as big as a walnut." This defeat only turned the arms of Amurath. He conquered great part of Greece, took Thessalonica and gained possession of all the cities on the Black sea.

Satisfied with his conquests and desirous of repose, Amurath resigned his sceptre into the hands of his son, and retired to a quiet retreat near Smyrna. The Ottoman dominions were in profound peace; but it was of short duration. The Roman pontiff Eugenius IV., was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached and might soon invade the borders of Italy. The hostile fleets of the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were associated under the standard of St. Peter; but the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland were most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. These nations might appear equal to the contest; but their spirit was adverse to concord and obedience. Yet on their side the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus; by the valour of the hero John Hunniades, whose name was already popular among the Christians and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate. The ardour and distress of the Christians beyond the Danube were greatly exaggerated. The Greek

emperor engaged to guard the Bosphorus. The Sultan of Caramania announced the retirement of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same time the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth, it was said, must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God and his divine mother.

A religious war was the unanimous cry of the Polish and Hungarian diets; and Ladislaus passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they gained two signal victories, which are ascribed to the valour and conduct of Hunniades. The mountains of Hæmus arrested the progress of the hero. The confederate army retraced its steps; and the entrance into Buda, which was graced by nine standards and four thousand captives, was at once a military and religious triumph. The most solid proof of victory was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners and evacuate the Hungarian frontier. A truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy.

But the diet was not dissolved when Julian received intelligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanians, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty of Ladislaus, impatiently awaited for the return of his victorious army. "It is to them, to your God and your fellow Christians," exclaimed the Cardinal to Ladislaus, "that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by the levity of popular assemblies, and war was resolved, on the same spot where

peace had so lately been proclaimed. The army of Ladislaus, under the command of Hunniades, crossed the Danube, marched along the shores of the Euxine, burning with wanton cruelty the churches and villages of the Christian natives, and their last station was at Varna, near the sea shore, on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name. In this emergency Amurath was called from his retreat. From Adrianople the Sultan advanced by hasty marches at the head of sixty thousand men. The Cardinal and Hunniades, alarmed at the numbers and order of the Turks, proposed a retreat; the king alone resolved to conquer or die.—Victory seemed to favour the Christians. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors were carried away from the support of their friends. A copy of the treaty, a monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of the battle; and it is said that the Sultan in his distress, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself, to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion. The Hungarians rushed forward in the confidence of victory, till stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries; the king himself was slain, whose death was the signal of the overthrow of the Christian host. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna.

The victorious Amurath again returned to his solitude. His son was too young to bear the burden of royalty; for no sooner had Amurath retired, than the capital became a prey to civil faction. Amurath again resumed the sceptre, which he retained until his death. Before the battle of Varna, George Castriot or Scanderberg, had raised the standard of revolt in his native country, Albania. The valour and experience of Amurath were foiled by the Albanian chief. He was driven from the walls of Croya, the capital of the Castriots, with great loss; and for twenty-three years Scanderberg resisted the undivided force of the Ottoman empire. "Wherefore," said Amurath with his dying breath, "my son, thou shalt receive from me this sceptre, and these royal ensigns; but above all things I leave unto you this enemy."

The historians of the Ottoman empire describe Amurath as having been endowed with every virtue. Just, merciful, and religious, he combined the learning of the scholar and the wisdom of the statesman to the skill and bravery of the soldier. His charity was regular and munificent; and while his army was ever victorious, the citizens became rich and secure. We cannot, however, accept this portraiture of Amurath. In him, we perceive great abilities, united with the prevailing vices and cruelties of the age. The applause of a servile and superstitious people has often been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a Sultan are often the vices most useful to himself or agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, are awed by the flashes of arbitrary power; and the cruelty of a despot assumes the character of justice. It must, however, be recorded to the credit of Amurath, that in the observance of treaties his word was inviolable and sacred.

The philosophy of the monarch, who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness, would demand our admiration; but the motives of Amurath were debased by superstition. In his pleasant residence of Magnesia, he retired to the society of saints and hermits, and submitted to fast and pray with fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.—Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; but Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repeated his preference of a private life.

MAHOMET II.

Mahomet II. succeeded his father Amurath, and commenced his reign with the murder of his two infant brothers. Desirous of terminating a war in which he was engaged with the prince of Caramania, he made peace with the emperor of the Greeks; but he had no sooner brought the contest to a close than he meditated the siege and capture of the imperial city.

The site of Constantinople forms an equilateral triangle, having on the south the Sea of Marmora, and on the north-east the Gulf of Keras, which forms the port or harbour. On the land side it was defended by a double wall, and a ditch 100 feet deep and 200 wide; and the harbour was secured by a strong chain drawn across from the Fair-gate to Galata, and protected by eight large ships. This city was considered impregnable, and had it been garrisoned according to its capability it might have defied the assaults of its enemies. But such is the effect of civil and religious division, that out of 100,000 inhabitants scarcely 5,000 could be found willing to man the ramparts. With this small and undisciplined army, and a reinforcement of 2,000 Latins, commanded by John Justinian, a noble Genoese, Constantine, the last of the Greek or Roman emperors, resolved to defend the capital of the Cæsars against an army of 300,000 men.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom; but the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of anarchy and discord. The unpopular measure of a union with the Latins had been renounced, but the distress of Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. Ambassadors were sent to Rome to solicit temporal aid; and they were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience, and to solicit the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican could not easily overlook these signs of repentance. A legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final reduction of the city, a cardinal appeared, with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; and the two nations in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer. The dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror that he consecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. It is acknowledged by a national historian

that none of his countrymen, not even the emperor himself, were sincere on this occasional conformity; and their hasty submission was palliated by a promise of future revisal. "Have patience," said they, "till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon that seeks to devour us, and you shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; and the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed to the cell of a gloomy and superstitious monk to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation or divine rapture; but he exposed on the door of his cell a tablet on which was written these words, "O miserable Romans, why will you abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will you put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith you are losing your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I am innocent of the crime," &c. According to this advice, the religious virgins, pure as angels, rejected the act of union, and their example was imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monasteries the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the Pope, and emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the Holy Virgin. "What occasion have we," they valiantly exclaimed, "for succour, for union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites."

No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The first minister of the empire was heard to declare that he would rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat. Sentiments so unworthy of Christians and patriots were familiar and fatal to the Greeks; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree or the hope of a miraculous deliverance. The eastern empire was thus abandoned to its fate, and Christendom beheld its fall without a murmur. The first step of

Mahomet towards the reduction of Constantinople was the erection of a formidable castle on the Bosphorus, about five miles from the Greek metropolis; and a thousand men were commanded to assemble in the spring for the execution of his design. The Greek ambassadors represented to Mahomet that this fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of nations. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious Sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Return in safety; but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration Constantine resolved to unsheathe his sword and resist the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus; but this bold determination, worthy of this last of his illustrious race, was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the Sultan had decided the assurance of their ruin.

On the 26th March, A. D. 1452, the appointed spot of Asomaton on the Bosphorus, was covered with a swarm of active artificers, and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut in the woods of Nicomedia; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each mason was assisted by two workmen, and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress was triangular, and each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower. The thickness of the walls was twenty-two feet and the towers thirty. Mahomet pressed the work with ardour: the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the Sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death.

The harvests of the subjects of Constantine were destroyed by the mules and horses of the camp, although a Turkish guard had been fixed to protect them; and the retinues of the Ottoman chiefs left their horses to pasture on the ripe corn. These insults were resented. Mahomet listened with joy to the intelligence: and he resolved to exterminate the

guilty: but the guilty had fled; and forty innocent reapers were massacred by the soldiers. The gates of Constantinople were now shut; and the emperor expressed in his last message the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. The Sultan's answer was hostile and decisive; his fortifications were completed; and he stationed a vigilant garrison to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel refused obedience, and was sunk by a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the Porte; the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded, and their bodies exposed to the wild beasts.

The siege of Constantinople was deferred to the ensuing spring. The Greeks and Turks passed an anxious winter. The former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations for defence and attack. The prevailing sentiment of Mahomet was strengthened by the ardour of youth and temper. Night and day he contemplated the approaching event; and debated with his generals and engineers the plans and modes of the attack.


Among the implements of destruction, Mahomet studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. The precise era of the invention and application of gunpowder is involved in doubtful traditions. It appears to have been known about the middle of the fourteenth century; and before the end of that century, the use of artillery was familiar to the states of western Europe. The secret was first disclosed to the Turks by the Genoese, and the Sultans had both sense and wealth to reward their preceptors. A Hungarian who had been starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Sultan. In reply to the Sultan, he said that "were the walls of Constantinople more solid than those of Babylon, he would oppose an engine of superior power." A foundry was established at Adrianople; the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, a piece of brass ordnance was produced of stupendous magnitude, which discharged stone bullets of six hundred pounds.

Nearly two months were employed in transporting this enormous engine to Constantinople, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. A Turkish cannon more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance to the Dardanelles.

It is not surprising that the first rude efforts in the science of gunnery should have transgressed the standard of moderation; and that the usefulness of cannon and the effect produced by the discharge would be supposed to be in proportion to the size of the gun. While this may be so far correct, yet we can discern that in the modern improvements of artillery, the number of pieces is preferred to the weight of the metal; and the rapidity of the fire to the consequences of a single explosion.

In the beginning of the spring the vanguard of the Turkish army swept the towns and villages as far as the gate of Constantinople. Mahomet himself approached and halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted the imperial standard before the gate of St. Romanus; and on the 6th of April 1453, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople. Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to the enemy. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and ditch. Against this line the Ottomans directed their principal attack. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers sallied into the field; but from the inferiority of their numbers, they were prudently content to defend the rampart with their missile weapons. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows, were accompanied with the smoke and fire of their musketry and cannon. The same destructive engines were employed by the Moslems with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet, which has been already noticed, was flanked by two of almost equal magnitude. Fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and in the power and activity of the Sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. The great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The siege was pressed with unceasing activity. The Turkish approaches were pushed to the edge of the ditch, and they


attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were buried under the accumulated mass. Mahomet had recourse to mines; but the rocky soil and the activity of the Christian engineers, rendered this mode of attack abortive; nor had the art been yet invented of placing gunpowder in these subterraneous passages, and blowing the walls and towers into the air. Cannon were mingled with mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; and the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same wall; nor had the use of gunpowder superseded the use of liquid and unextinguishable fire. Constantine's small band of volunteers now seemed inspired with Roman valour; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of western chivalry. What had been destroyed in the day was quickly repaired during the night: and Mahomet had just cause to anticipate the failure of his cherished design. The city was invested by sea and land. The Turkish fleet of three hundred vessels, at the entrance of the Bosphorus was stretched from shore to shore in the form of a crescent. Five Christian ships of great size equipped for merchandise and war, and laden with troops and provisions for the city, approached this formidable force. The superiority in numbers of the Moslems was beyond all measure; but their navy had not been created by the genius of the people, but by the will of the Sultan. Thousands of spectators on the shores of Europe and Asia witnessed the destruction of the Turkish fleet. Their boats were open and rudely constructed, and crowded with troops; and since courage rises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the Janizaries might well tremble on this new element. The lofty ships of the Christians sank or scattered the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; and they poured liquid fire on the heads of their adversaries. The Turks fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, and the Christian fleet anchored in the harbour of the imperial city. In his perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels



from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour, into which they were launched far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. Thus attacked by sea and land, after a siege of forty days the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The fortifications which had stood for ages, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened, and four towers had been levelled with the ground. Astrology, the favourite science of Mahomet, had fixed on the 29th of May, (A. D. 1453,) as the fortunate hour. The Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer and their bodies with seven ablutions; and a crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. "The city and buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty." The camp re-echoed with their shouts, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God;" and the sea and land were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the fate of the Christians. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense specially to the heroes who fall in defence of their country. But the example of their prince armed them with the courage of despair.

At daybreak the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host who had joined the camp in hope of plunder. The common impulse drove them onwards. The strength and ammunition of the Christians were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; and the death of this devoted vanguard became more serviceable than the life. The defence was desperate; the voice of the emperor was heard encouraging his soldiers. In that fatal moment the Janizaries arose fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himself, with an iron mace, surrounded by ten



thousand of his domestic troops, impelled with his voice and eye the tide of battle. Crowds of Turks continually pressed forward, and the strength of the heroic garrison was at last exhausted. Constantine fell covered with heaps of slain. John Justinian was pierced with an arrow, the exquisite pain of which appalled the courage of the chief; and he whose counsel and courage were the firmest rampart of the city, fled from the conflict. The greater part of the Latin auxiliaries imitated their chief, while the attack was pressed by the Ottomans with redoubled vigour, who were fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; and if the besiegers could penetrate a single point, the city was irrecoverably lost. The Greeks were now overwhelmed with increasing numbers, and they fled towards the city pursued by the victorious Turks, and Constantinople was now irretrievably lost to the Christians. The inhabitants were devoted to slavery or ransom, and their treasures became the spoil of the conquerors. The churches, stripped of their images and ornaments, were transformed into mosques by worship and purification. Thus terminated the existence of the western empire, A. D. 1453,—1,123 years after Constantine had removed the seat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, and had given his name to that celebrated city, which was now destined to be the capital of the Ottoman empire.

In the fall and sack of great cities, the same tale of uniform calamity is produced, and small, indeed, is the difference between civilized and savage man. In the fall of Constantinople the Turks are accused of a wanton and immoderate effusion of human blood; but according to their maxims, (the maxims of antiquity, of which they appear to have taken only a moderate advantage,) the lives of the vanquished were forfeited, and the reward of the conqueror was derived from the ransom or sale of the captives of both sexes.

When Mahomet entered the desolate mansion of the successors of the great Constantine, which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty, a melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind. "The spider," said he, "has wove his web in the

imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch song on the towers of Afrasiab."

Although the rapine of an hour was more productive than the industry of a thousand years, yet the wealth of Constantinople did not afford a great booty to the army of the victor. The total amount has been estimated at four millions of ducats. The city had been left naked and desolate; but the walls, the religious edifices and public buildings, were renewed, and the population speedily flocked to the city, and in a few months, thousands of families from Anatolia and Rumania obeyed the royal mandate, and repaired to new habitations in the capital.

The ambition of Mahomet was far from being satisfied with the capture of Constantinople. Like every other conqueror it only stimulated his ambition. His arms were turned against Servia, which acknowledged his power by an annual tribute; and with a large force he laid siege to Belgrade. The skill and bravery of Hunniades again triumphed. The Turkish army was discomfited, and Mahomet himself was severely wounded. Hunniades, whose genius had so often contributed to the overthrow of the Turkish arms, shortly survived the victory.

Disappointed in his hopes of success against Hungary, Mahomet turned his attention to the Morea, and the isles of the Ægean sea, which he subdued partly by fraud and partly by force. The emperor of Trebisond resigned his capital into his hands; and for this liberal gift, which fear alone dictated, he was rewarded with an untimely death.

The dying legacy which his father Amurath bequeathed to Mahomet, now appeared in the person of Scanderbeg. George Castriot, called Scanderbeg by the Turks, was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic sea. He was one of four sons who were delivered as pledges to the Turks for the fidelity of his father, who had been unable to contend against the Sultan's power. They were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arts and arms of Turkish policy. The three elder brothers are supposed to have been poisoned, but George Castriot, from circumstances which do not appear, received kind and paternal

treatment, and in early youth he displayed the strength and spirit of the soldier. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and at an advanced period of life, he meditated the independence of Albania, and escaping from the Turkish army in the confusion of a battle, arrived at the gates of Croya, the capital of the Castriots, which were opened to his mandate. He abjured the prophet and the Sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. No man was more worthy of his country than Scanderbeg. His patriotism was pure and lofty. Neither threats nor promises could detach him from his love of national independence. His genius was equal to his lofty character; and his undaunted valour and military skill have stamped him as one of the greatest military champions of his time. Year after year the Turkish armies found a grave in the mountains of Albania. Baffled in every attempt to overcome the enemy, the disappointed Turk vainly endeavoured to get rid of Scanderbeg by assassination; and the failure of all his schemes of fraud and force embittered the last days, if it did not hasten the death, of Amurath. Mahomet, at the head of a numerous army, invaded Albania, and laid siege to Croya. But his moral courage was not equal to the emergency. Fearing that he might share his father's disasters, he left Billanus, one of his pachas, with 80,000 men to prosecute the siege, and returned himself to Constantinople. In a sally of the garrison Billanus was shot, and the Turks deserting their camp, were routed with great slaughter. An equally fruitless attempt was made at the subjugation of Croya in the following spring; but Mahomet had scarcely reached Constantinople, when he received the welcome intelligence of the death of the Albanian prince. Scanderbeg died of fever at Lyssa, A.D. 1466, in the 63d year of his age. Such is the influence of patriotism and virtue, that upon the taking of Lyssa nine years after, the Janizaries violated the hero's sepulchre, and wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declaring by this superstitious amulet, their involuntary reverence for his valour.

The influence of a single great mind on national fortunes, is finely illustrated in the case of the Albanians. No

sooner had Scanderbeg sunk into the grave, than their skill and bravery departed. Mahomet found them an easy prey.

The Venetian possessions were now the object of Mahomet's ambition. He took from them the city of Negropont, then the strongest walled town in Europe, and wrested the Crimea from the Genoese. In an attack upon Rhodes, Mahomet was repulsed. He seized Cephalonia from the Venetians, and invading Italy took the city of Otranto, which he fortified and victualled for eighteen months, with the intention of prosecuting his conquests in that country. But death put an end to his ambition, and saved Italy from Mahometan rule. He died A.D. 1481.

The conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, is ascribed to the invincible sword of Mahomet. He was doubtless a soldier, possibly a great general: Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. His arms were checked by Hunniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and Persian king. Nevertheless, under his rule, the Turkish dominions extended from the Euphrates to the Adriatic; and his authority was acknowledged by the Tartars on the north of the Euxine, from the Dniester to the Cuban. The education and sentiments of Mahomet were those of a devout Mussulman, but age and empire relaxed his sincerity. His pride and ambition disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and he even presumed to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Mahomet was one of the most learned men of his age; but learning was employed without effect upon his savage and licentious nature. Implacable in his resentments, he knew neither pity nor forgiveness; and in the palace as in the field, a torrent of human blood was spilt upon the slightest provocation. His passions were at once furious and inexorable; and the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. Although the proudest of men, he could stoop from ambition to the basest acts of dissimulation and deceit. Courteous and friendly in his speech, the Ottoman breathed the language of peace, while war was in his heart; and with solemn oaths and fair

assurances he pledged to redress the grievances and consult the true interests of the Greeks, while in the same breath he gave orders for the siege of Constantinople. Such appear to be the predominant features in the character of Mahomet; a character compounded of hypocrisy, cunning, cruelty, and deceit.

BAJAZET II.

Bajazet II. who succeeded Mahomet, attested the sincerity of his religion and his faith in the prophet, by a pilgrimage to Mecca; nor would he be dissuaded from this pious mission by the intelligence of his advancement to the throne. He recommended his son Korkud as his substitute, who dutifully resigned the sceptre on his father's return.

The commencement of the reign of Bajazet was disturbed by the pretensions of his brother Djem; and as ambition is seldom without an excuse, he founded his claim to dominion upon his being born the son of an emperor, whereas Bajazet was born before his father Mahomet had ascended the throne. Prince Djem was one of the most accomplished men of his nation. Skilled in literature and eloquence, he was endowed with prudence and magnanimity; but his desire to reign involved him in a series of misfortunes which terminated only with his life. He raised his standard at Brusa, but his army was annihilated by the grand vizier Achmet, and he fled to Egypt, and was received kindly by the Sultan and supplied with money. After a variety of fortune he took refuge in Italy; but the Roman pontiff, the infamous Alexander VII. corrupted by the gold of Bajazet, administered poison to his unsuspecting guest.

The army of Bajazet under the vizier Achmet was every where successful. He overran Moldavia and subjected it to tribute; and penetrating into Cilicia, overthrew the Caramanian prince and his Mameluke auxiliaries on the plains of Tarsus, and established the dominion of Bajazet over the whole sea-coast as far as the Syrian gates. The valour and talents of Achmet were fatal to his life. He was the idol of the Janizaries whose turbulence and tumults he alone could

control. Those very qualities which rendered Achmet worthy of the first honours of the state, served only to excite the suspicion and jealousy of Bajazet, who resolved to destroy him; and he soon secretly accomplished his perfidious design. By this act, Bajazet, instead of adding to his security, cast from under him the firmest pillar of his throne; and he exposed himself to the fierce resentment of an unbridled soldiery, who now felt their influence in the government, and who continued for upwards of four centuries to break the energies and interrupt the happiness and prosperity of the empire.

The increasing power of the Turks was not only beheld with apprehension in Europe, but it excited the jealousy of the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt, who embraced every opportunity of fomenting and encouraging rebellion in their dependencies in Asia Minor. Bajazet was aware of this hostile feeling; and he was further incensed by the protection which Kaite-bey afforded to his brother Djem. Thus was laid the foundation of a quarrel which occasioned much bloodshed in this and the following reign, and ended in the total overthrow of the Mameluke sovereignty in Egypt.

Bajazet resolved to invade Syria, but he was anticipated by the Mamelukes, who encountered him in the vicinity of Mount Taurus. Bajazet sustained a severe defeat, and was compelled to retire after the loss of two-thirds of his army and all his baggage and cannon. The fleet which accompanied the march of the army was equally unfortunate. It encountered a storm, and was totally wrecked at the mouth of the river Orontes.

The Mamelukes were originally Circassian slaves, and like the Janizaries of the Turks, formed the choicest troops of the Egyptian sovereigns. They were regularly recruited from Circassia; and by degrees they grew so formidable to their masters that they became the dispensers of the sceptre of Egypt. The reigning dynasty was set aside, and they raised one of their own nation to the throne. The Mameluke reign in Egypt continued for upwards of a century. The reinforcements of the Mamelukes being almost exhaustless, the talents and enterprise of Bajazet enabled him to form a scheme by which the supply of Circassian slaves would

be entirely cut off, and the subjugation of Egypt thereby the more easily accomplished. He made a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, by which he restored the conquests he had made two years before in Cilicia, and then led his army into Circassia. Seven years were occupied in the reduction of this country. A line of posts was established between Erzerum and Derbend on the Caspian, by which the emigration of the inhabitants was completely prevented.

According to the unanimous suffrage of naturalists and travellers, it is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the colour of the skin, the symmetry of the features, and the expression of the countenance. According to the destination of the two sexes, the men, it has been remarked, seem formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual supply of females from the mountains of the Caucasus, has purified the blood and improved the southern nations of Asia. These countries have long maintained an exportation of slaves, and they furnish a regular supply for the markets of Constantinople.

Bajazet adopted no ulterior measures with respect to Egypt. His attention was called to the Venetians, with whom grounds of quarrel regarding their commercial rights were constantly occurring. Their fleets met at Sapienza in the Archipelago, when the Venetians were defeated with great loss, and the victors became masters of Lepanto and Modox. The Turks at the same time invaded Italy, and ravaged Friuli; but they received a severe check from Gonsalvo, the famous Cid, who drove their fleet into the Hellespont and destroyed a number of their ships.

Bajazet, though naturally averse to war, was at the same time a successful soldier; and he seems only to have taken up arms when demanded by the exigencies of the state. He zealously promoted literature and the arts; and now being at peace with all his neighbours, he devoted himself to the study of the religious and philosophical literature of Islamism. His peaceful studies were interrupted by the rebellion of Schetian Kuli, the founder of a sect of Mahometan heretics. This impostor took the common method of acquir-

ing a character for sanctity by the austerities of his life, and by his retirement from the world in a secret cave. No religion, either divine or human, has ever yet been so deeply rooted in the human mind as to prevent its adherents from being misled by artful impostors. This Schetian Kuli had collected such a number of followers, that not contented with attempting the conversion of his countrymen, he took up arms to revolutionise the state; but being defeated in several engagements by the troops of Bajazet, he fled to Persia, and converted to his opinions the sovereign of that country and most of his subjects.

The ties of parental affection appear to have become languid or altogether dead in the Turkish princes. Bajazet was indulging his love of retirement and contemplating measures to raise his son Achmet to the throne, when his youngest son Selim, supported by the Janizaries, snatched the sceptre from his grasp, and followed up his rebellion by the murder of his father, A. D. 1511, and the thirtieth of his reign.

SELIM.

The character and disposition of Selim, as exhibited in his unnatural rebellion, and the murder of his father, require little illustration. But as if not content with the enormities he had already committed, he began by providing for the stability of his throne, by devoting to death all his brothers and nephews.

The Sunnites, who were believed by the Turks to be the only orthodox believers, and whose mosques had been destroyed by Ismael, the Shah of Persia, who had adopted the heresies of Schetian, established a religious animosity mingled with personal jealousy and national agrandisement, between two of the most powerful sovereigns of Islamism, which continued to be prosecuted for two centuries with all the bitterness which sectarian rancour could inspire. The fiery Janizaries were fit and willing instruments in the hands of Selim for the gratification of his relentless and cruel disposition.

Selim prepared to encounter his antagonist, and assembled a great army on the plains of Erzerum. His troops were subjected to great suffering in crossing the mountainous deserts of Ararat, and he had well nigh fallen a victim to their resentment. The appearance of the enemy has often revived the drooping courage of soldiers, and renewed their attachment to their commander. The appearance of the Persian host saved perhaps the life of Selim; but it was not a spirit of heroism that restrained the murmurs and roused the courage of the Janizaries. The Persian forces appeared glittering with gold and precious stones, and attended by numerous beasts of burden, and cupidity and the love of plunder produced that effect on the troops of Selim, which true bravery and the honour of the soldier could not accomplish. Thus the splendid trappings of the Persian army not only brought about its destruction by the useless impediments which they must necessarily have imposed upon its evolutions, but by the effects which the exhibition of all this riches produced.

The armies met on the plains of Calderon, A. D. 1514. The Turks obtained the victory, but so dearly was it bought, that they called it "the day of judgment." An immense booty fell into the hands of the Ottomans; but their retreat was disastrous, and Selim with difficulty rescued his army from the attacks of the Kurdish mountaineers. The energy of Selim was in no way abated by this disaster, and he arose from the conflict with renewed strength. He again prepared for the invasion of Persia, by subduing the vast peninsula between the Euphrates and Tigris; and by these important conquests he opened an easy access into the dominions of Ismael. The Sultan of Egypt could not be induced to detach his alliance with Persia, and Selim being afraid to leave so powerful a sovereign behind him, advanced into Syria, and encamped on the plains of Aleppo. Selim was saved from impending ruin by the treachery of the governor of Aleppo who deserted from the enemy, and was thus enabled to rally his forces and bring his artillery into action, which made great havoc among the Mameluke squadrons. These troops were compelled to retire with the loss of their Sultan, and the Ottoman army marched to Cairo, when,

after another obstinate but decisive encounter, the power of the Mamelukes was annihilated, and the new Sultan was hanged on the gates of Cairo by the orders of Selim.

Egypt being thus in the power of the Turks, Selim established the government in twenty-four beys, whose authority was subjected to a council of regency, supported by a standing army of 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. Syria and Palestine were converted into Ottoman pachaliks; the scherif of Mecca proffered to him the keys of the holy city; and the Arabs of the desert submitted to his sovereign authority. On the return of the inexorable Selim, an ambassador from Persia met him at Aleppo, and endeavoured by presents and flattery to avert his hostility to the Persian King; but Selim swore that he would subvert the Persian empire, and extinguish a race odious to God and man. Persia, however, was saved by the death of Selim, who died after forty days of severe suffering. Selim obtained for the Ottoman Sultans the title of Caliph, which confers the highest influence and supremacy. It is scarcely possible to imagine human nature reduced to such a state of degradation as to have tamely submitted to the cruelties of Selim. The laws of war and the duties of a commander require from him prompt and energetic measures for restraining the passions and preserving the subordination of the soldiers, which, in civil life, would be justly entitled to the epithet of barbarous. The conqueror or usurper may find in his own mind an excuse for the greatest of political crimes, and may impose upon the minds and persons of his subjects the yoke of slavery, and subject them to punishment and death, on the plea of expediency; but the sovereign or the soldier who orders the victims of his displeasure to instantaneous execution, merely through caprice or the love of slaughter, deserves the unmitigated execration of mankind.

Such was the conduct of Selim. When he first prepared for war, his vizier inquired in what quarter he should erect his tents, for which he was instantly strangled. His successor repeated the same question, and met with the same fate; but the third pitched the tents towards the four points of the compass, and when the Sultan demanded where his camp was fixed, "Every where," said the vizier, "thy

soldiers will follow thee everywhere thou shalt lead." "Behold," said the tyrant, "how the death of two has procured me a capital vizier." Upon another occasion, upon his march to Cairo, one of his officers presumed to ask when they should enter a certain village, "When God pleases," said the Sultan, "but for thee it is my pleasure that thou stay here," and immediately ordered his head to be struck off. The character of a despot and a conqueror united in the same person, is generally attended with the most unhappy results: and successful conquest coupled with unrestrained power, has invariably produced the worst effects upon the human mind. Ancient as well as modern history illustrate this truth. Hence we need not wonder that we find in Selim, united with the most wanton and capricious cruelty, all the qualities which constitute a great warrior, and some of those accomplishments that adorn the human mind, and add an imperishable lustre to a throne. He is said to have been distinguished for his attainments in the literature and philosophy of his age; and the following inscription in Arabic verse, written by himself, and placed upon the pavilion of the Nilometer, which he constructed and embellished, testifies to his genius and to the correctness of his views regarding the great disposer of human affairs. "All the riches and possessions of men belong to God, who alone disposes of them according to his will. He overturns the throne of the conqueror, and scatters the treasures of the lords of the Nile. If man could claim for his own the smallest particle of matter, the sovereignty of the world would be divided between God and his creature."

Selim was the most successful general of his time, and during his short reign added more territory to the Ottoman empire than any of his predecessors. He died, A. D. 1519, after a short reign of 8 years.

SOLIMAN.

Soliman succeeded to the Ottoman throne, and like his predecessors, easily found an excuse for the invasion of the neighbouring states. The submission of Persia and the con-

quest of Egypt enabled him to turn his whole forces against the Christians, with whom the followers of Mahomet were in continual antagonism. An insult offered to his ambassador at the court of Hungary, afforded him a pretext for war. Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary, before which the Turkish arms had been so frequently discomfited, fell through treachery after a short siege of four weeks. The capture of this important stronghold opened up a passage into Hungary. But the time of service of a great part of his troops had expired, and as they were unwilling to remain longer in service, the conqueror of Belgrade was compelled to return to Constantinople. Had Soliman been enabled to have taken advantage of the divisions which then agitated Christendom, he might have planted the crescent on the walls of Vienna.

The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who occupied the island of Rhodes, the avowed enemies of the Ottomans, and acknowledged to be the chief defence of Italy against the fleets and armies of the Turks, attracted the ambition of Soliman. Thither he directed his power, and with an army of 200,000 men, and a fleet of 400 sail, appeared against this small state, defended by a garrison of 5,000 soldiers and 600 knights under the command of the Grand Master, whose valour and wisdom rendered him worthy of the station at this dangerous juncture. He despatched messengers to all the Christian courts, imploring their aid against the common enemy. But although every prince of the age acknowledged Rhodes to be the bulwark of Christendom in the east; though Adrian, with a zeal which became the head and father of the church, exhorted the contending powers to forget their private quarrels, and by uniting their arms to prevent the infidels from destroying a society which did honour to the Christian name; yet so implacable was the animosity of Charles V. and Francis I., that, regardless of the danger to which they exposed all Europe, they suffered Soliman to carry on his operations against Rhodes without disturbance. The Grand Master, after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military conduct during a siege of six months, was obliged at last to yield to numbers; and having obtained from the Sultan, who admired and respected

his virtue, an honourable capitulation, he surrendered the town, which was reduced to a heap of rubbish and destitute of every resource. Charles and Francis endeavoured to throw the blame on each other; but Europe, with great justice, imputed it equally to both. The emperor Charles, by way of reparation, granted the Knights of St. John the small island of Malta, in which they fixed their residence, retaining, though with less power and splendour, their ancient spirit and implacable enmity to the infidels.

Soliman having restored tranquillity to Egypt, which had been distracted by the rebellion of his pachas, again turned his steps towards Hungary, which, during a long life, continued to be the principal scene of his triumphs and his shame. His army consisted of 200,000 men; and Lewis II., King of that country and Bohemia, a weak and inexperienced prince, advanced to meet Soliman with a force which did not amount to 30,000. With a still more unpardonable imprudence, he gave the command of these troops to a Franciscan monk. This awkward general, in the dress of his order, marched at the head of the army; and hurried on by his own presumption and the impetuosity of his nobles, he fought the fatal battle of Mohatz, in which the King, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and upwards of 20,000 men fell the victims of his folly and misconduct. Soliman, after this victory, seized and kept possession of several towns of the greatest strength in the south of Hungary, and overrunning the rest of the country, carried two hundred thousand persons into captivity.

An insurrection which took place in Anatolia threatened to separate this province from the Turkish empire. The suppression of this rebellion occupied Soliman three years, during which Buda was retaken by the Hungarians. At this period Hungary was distracted by a disputed succession between Zapoli Waywode of Transylvania, and Ferdinand the Archduke of Austria. The claims of Ferdinand, although well founded, had they not been powerfully supported would have met with little regard. The feudal institutions in Hungary and Bohemia existed in such vigour that the crowns were still elective. But his own merit, the necessity of choosing a prince able to afford his subjects some

additional protection against the Turkish arms which they so greatly dreaded, together with other circumstances, overcame the prejudices which the Hungarians had conceived against the archduke as a foreigner, at length secured Ferdinand the throne of Hungary. The states of Bohemia imitated the example of the neighbouring kingdom. Zapolí, unable to cope with his rival, sought the protection of the Turkish Sultan, and offered to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Ottoman crown. Soliman gladly accepted his submission, and proceeded to Hungary under pretence of recovering the kingdom in behalf of his vassal. Buda surrendered at his approach. The principal fortresses of the Danube also yielded without opposition, and he sat down before Vienna with an army whose tents covered a space of six miles. Thirty days spent in almost continual assaults, and the loss of 80,000 of his bravest troops, compelled him to retire from before the Austrian capital. The valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, and the treachery of the Vizier, all contributed to this result.

Exasperated by the dishonour done to his arms, Soliman assembled an army of 300,000 men, and marched without opposition to the confines of Germany, where he was stopped by the small fortress of Guntz. The emperor Charles having received intelligence of Soliman's having entered Hungary, made preparations for the defence of the empire. The Protestants, as a testimony of their gratitude to the emperor, exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces which exceeded the number required of them. The Catholics imitated their example. They were joined also by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans; by some heavy armed cavalry from the Low Countries, and by troops which Ferdinand had raised in Bohemia, Austria, and his other territories. The army thus brought together, amounted in all to ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars. Of this vast army, worthy of the first prince in Christendom, the emperor took the command in person; and mankind waited in suspense the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's

good fortune, they both conducted their operations with such caution, that the campaign ended without any memorable event. Soliman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Constantinople. It is remarkable that in such a martial age, this was the first time Charles, who had already carried on such extensive wars, appeared at the head of his troops. To have opposed such a general as Soliman was no small honour; to have obliged him to retire, merited considerable praise. But the world expected, and had reason to anticipate, from both more decisive conduct.

The habits of ages appear to have rendered war the natural state of the Turkish nation. But, indeed, the history of all the great eastern empires, whose policy the Turks carried down to a late period, presents an uninterrupted succession of conquest or disaster. Soliman, to repair the disgrace which fell upon his arms, turned his attention towards Persia, and advancing to Taurus, awaited the approach of the enemy. His troops were attacked by the Persians, when intent on plunder. Many of them were slain and taken captive. This campaign, although destructive to the greater part of the Ottoman army, was attended with important conquests. The opulent city of Bagdad and its dependencies fell before the arms of Soliman; these he converted into a Turkish province, which still continues to be the eastern bulwark of the empire.

While Soliman pursued his conquests in the east, he was not unmindful of the extension of his power in other directions. The states of Barbary, including the kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, were inhabited by a mixed race of Arabs and Moors, all zealous professors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed against Christianity with a bigoted hatred proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners. About the beginning of the sixteenth century a sudden revolution happened, which rendered these states formidable to the Europeans. The inhabitants of these kingdoms were daring, inconsistent, and treacherous, and they have justly been called the piratical states, which occupation many of the people pursued. This revolution was brought about by persons whose rank in life entitled

them to act no such illustrious part. Hourc and Hayradin, natives of the isle of Lesbos, joined a crew of pirates, and by their valour soon rendered themselves so formidable, that their names became terrible from the Dardanelles to Gibraltar. Their ambition increased with their fame; and while acting as corsairs, they adopted the ideas and acquired the talents of conquerors. Hourc, called Barbarossa, from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin second in command, but with almost equal authority.

The prizes which they took on the coast of Spain and Italy were often carried into the ports of Barbary, and from their own liberality and the prodigality of their crews, they were welcome guests at every place they touched. The near proximity of the ports of Barbary to the richest states of Christendom made the Turks desirous of an establishment in this country. An opportunity soon presented itself, which they did not overlook. The King of Algiers was so ill advised as to apply to Barbarossa for his assistance, to enable him to wrest the fort of Oran from the Spanish government, which had been built not far from his capital. Barbarossa gladly accepted the invitation; and leaving the fleet in charge of Hayradin, marched at the head of 5,000 men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. The Moors did not suspect him of any bad intentions; nor were they capable of opposing him. Barbarossa secretly murdered the monarch which he had come to assist, and proclaimed himself King of Algiers. Not satisfied with the throne of Algiers, he attacked the neighbouring states, while he continued to infest the coast of Spain and Italy with fleets that resembled the armaments of a great monarch, rather than the light squadrons of a corsair. At last the governor of Oran received the assistance of a sufficient number of troops to attack Barbarossa, and after several defeats, he was overtaken and slain. Hayradin, known also by the name of Barbarossa, assumed the sceptre of Algiers; and as a precautionary measure against the expected attacks of the Christians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Sultan. Soliman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet; and Barbarossa repairing to Constantinople, and mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a cor-

sair, gained the entire confidence of the Sultan and his Vizier. Barbarossa communicated a scheme which he had formed of making himself master of Tunis, and he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution. Barbarossa getting possession of Alraschid, one of the sons of the late monarch, easily persuaded him to visit Constantinople, by promising him the assistance of Soliman, whom he represented as the most just and generous of monarchs. Soliman with much facility approved of the perfidious design of Barbarossa, and as Alraschid was going to embark, he was shut up in the seraglio by the orders of the Sultan, and was never heard of more. Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of 250 vessels towards Africa, and ravaging the coast of Italy, and spreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to assert the right of Alraschid, whom he pretended to have left sick on board his galley. This base proceeding was successful; and the people of Tunis were compelled to acknowledge Soliman as their master. The power of Barbarossa was now very great. The town and port of Goletta were put in a posture of defence, and he carried on his depredations against the Christians with more destructive violence than ever.

Charles was now resolved to revenge the outrages committed against his subjects in Spain and Italy, and he prepared to undertake the enterprise. A Flemish fleet carried from the ports of the Low Countries a body of German infantry: the galleys of Sicily and Naples took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards. The emperor himself carrying with him the flower of the Spanish nobility, embarked at Barcelona. The Pope furnished all the assistance in his power to this pious enterprise; and the order of Malta fitted out a small squadron for the occasion. On the 16th July, 1535, the fleet, consisting of 500 vessels, having on board 30,000 regular troops, set sail from Cagliari, in Sardinia, and after a prosperous navigation landed within sight of Tunis. Barbarossa behaved on this occasion as an accomplished politician and a warrior; but his tumultuary force was not able to resist the formidable power of Charles. Goletta fell, and the emperor became master of Barbarossa's

fleet, consisting of 87 gallies and galliots, together with his arsenal and 300 brass cannon—a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the strength of that fort and the Corsair's power. The army of Barbarossa having been defeated, Tunis surrendered to the arms of Charles; Barbarossa himself escaped.

This narrative belongs more to European than to Turkish history; but it nevertheless exhibits the policy of the Sultans, and the unscrupulous measures which they were ever ready to adopt to extend their conquests. The Christian powers at this period began to assert that supremacy which they have ever since maintained; and during the reign of the Emperor Charles V. when Europe was agitated by the reformation of Luther, the Turkish empire reached its highest point of prosperity. But Charles still dreaded the power of the Turkish arms; and what rendered them still more formidable, was the league which Soliman had entered into with Francis King of the French, in which Soliman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples, and to attack the king of Hungary, while Francis undertook to enter the Milanese. Soliman performed what was incumbent on him. Barbarossa appeared with a great fleet on the coast of Naples, and filled that kingdom with consternation, and plundered the adjacent country. The arrival of the Pope's gallies and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the Turks were more formidable. Mahomet their general defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek on the Drave. Happily for Christendom, it was not in Francis' power to assemble an army strong enough to enter the Milanese; and thus Italy was saved from the calamities of a new war, and the desolating rage of the Turkish arms.

The infant son of John Zapoli had been recognised, on the death of his father, by the greatest part of the Hungarian nobility; and was crowned at Buda, under the name of Stephen; and when Ferdinand disputed his claim, the queen appealed to Soliman for his assistance in behalf of his vassal. Ferdinand also offered to accept the crown of Hungary under the same ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John held it. But the Sul-

tan seeing the advantages resulting from espousing the interests of the young king, promised him his protection; and commanding one army to advance towards Hungary, he himself followed with another. The queen, a woman of masculine courage, ambition and magnanimity, had committed the care of her son to Martinuzzi, a man who by the variety and extent of his talents was fitted to act a superior part in bustling and active times. The king and his mother were shut up in Buda, of which the Germans had formed the siege; but Martinuzzi having drawn thither the strength of the Hungarian nobility, defended the town till the Turkish forces came up to its relief. They instantly attacked the Germans, and defeated them with great slaughter.

Soliman soon after joined his victorious troops; and being unable to resist the alluring opportunity of seizing the kingdom while possessed by a woman and an infant, he added Hungary to the Ottoman dominions. What he planned ungenerously, he executed by fraud. He requested the queen to send her son to his camp, and invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there. He seized the gates of Buda; sent the queen with her son to Transylvania, and appointed a bashaw to preside in Buda, with a large body of soldiers. Nor had the tears of the unhappy queen, or the entreaties of Martinuzzi, any influence to change the inflexible determination of the Sultan.

Hungary continued to be torn by conflicting pretensions, till it fell almost totally under the sway of Soliman. Charles, who had been carrying on negotiations with the Porte, at last concluded a truce of five years, by which each should retain possession of what he held in Hungary, and Ferdinand, as a sacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, submitted to pay a tribute of fifty thousand crowns. In the meantime, the fleet under Barbarossa ravaged the coast of Italy, and shortly after, the lilies of France and the crescent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction against the fortress of Nice, on which the cross of Savoy was displayed.

Ferdinand's attention was turned so entirely towards the affairs of Germany, that he made no attempt to recover Hungary, although a favourable opportunity for the purpose

presented itself, as Soliman was engaged in a war with Persia, and involved in domestic calamities which engrossed and disturbed his mind. Soliman, though distinguished by many accomplishments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage and love which reign in the east, and often produce the most wild and tragical effects.

A circumstance occurred about this period in the domestic history of Soliman, which conveys a striking idea not only of the character of Soliman himself, but serves to illustrate the characters of the Turkish Sultans generally. Such tragical scenes, productive of so deep distress, seldom occur but in the history of the great monarchies of the East, where the warmth of the climate seems to give every emotion of the heart its greatest force, and the absolute power of sovereigns accustoms and enables them to gratify all their passions without control.

The favourite mistress of Soliman was a Circassian slave, of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, who, on account of his birthright, was destined to be the heir of the Ottoman throne.

Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted the Circassian, and gained the Sultan's heart. She kept possession of his love without any rival for many years, during which she brought him several sons and one daughter. All the happiness which she derived from the unbounded sway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her sons, who, she foresaw, would be immediately sacrificed, according to the barbarous jealousy of Turkish policy, to the safety of the new emperor. Roxalana dwelt continually on this melancholy idea, and looked upon Mustapha as the enemy of her children. She gradually conceived a hatred for him, which prompted her to wish his destruction, in order to secure for one of her sons the throne that was destined for Mustapha. Nor did she want ambition for such an enterprize, nor arts to carry it into execu-

tion. Having prevailed upon the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to the Grand Vizier Rustan, she disclosed her secret to that crafty minister, who readily co-operated with her, it being his interest to aggrandize that branch of the royal line to which he was so nearly allied.

By every scheme which ingenuity could suggest, and the most artful policy could execute, Roxalana endeavoured to strengthen, if possible, her power over the Sultan. Soliman being absent with the army, she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments. Soliman discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it; and by writing under his hand, declared her a free woman. The Sultan, on his return to Constantinople, sent an eunuch, according to the custom of the seraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed. Roxalana refused to accompany the eunuch, declaring that what was an honour while a slave, became a crime in a free woman, and that she would not involve either herself or the Sultan in the guilt that must be contracted by an open violation of the law of the prophet. Soliman, whose passion became inflamed by this affected delicacy, had recourse to the Mufti for his direction. He replied agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's scruples were well founded; but added artfully, in words which Rustan had taught him to use, that the difficulty might be removed by the Sultan espousing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch closed eagerly with the proposal, although it had been a maxim of policy, since the time of Bajazet the First, that the sultans should admit none to their beds but slaves, whose dishonour could not bring any stain upon their house. This step convinced Roxalana of her unbounded influence over the Sultan's heart, and emboldened her to prosecute the scheme which she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince, according to the practice of the sultans in that age, had been intrusted with the government of several provinces, and was invested with the administration in Diarbekir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Soliman had wrested from the Persian empire. In all his different commands Mustapha had conducted himself with great prudence and moderation as well as justice;

and he displayed such valour and generosity, as rendered him the favourite of the people and the idol of the soldiery. There was no folly nor vice which could be brought against Mustapha. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she made his virtues engines for his destruction. She praised to Soliman the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. These encomiums were often repeated, and the Sultan began to hear them with uneasiness; suspicion of his son began to mingle with his former esteem; by degrees he came to view him with jealous fear; she artfully introduced some discourse touching the rebellion of his father Selim against Bajazet his grandfather; she took notice of the bravery of the troops under Mustapha's command, and of the nearness of Diarbekir to the territories of the Persian Sophi, Soliman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderness was gradually extinguished, and such passions were kindled in the breast of the Sultan, as gave all Roxalana's malignant suggestions the colour not only of probability but truth. His suspicions and fear of Mustapha settled into deep-rooted hatred. He appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions; he watched and stood on his guard against him as his most dangerous enemy. The Sultan's heart being thus alienated from Mustapha, Roxalana prevailed upon Soliman to allow her own sons to appear at court; and although this was contrary to the practice of that age, the monarch granted her request. To the intrigues of Roxalana, Rustan added an artifice equally subtle, which completed the Sultan's delusion and fear. He wrote to the Bashaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbekir, with all the appearance of zeal for their interest, instructing them to send intelligence of all Mustapha's proceedings, and that nothing could be more acceptable to the Sultan, than to receive favourable accounts of his son, whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The Bashaws filled their letters with studied but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such a father, and as one who might emulate, perhaps equal, his fame. These letters were industriously shown to Soliman; and such was the

effect they produced on a mind already shaken by jealousy and fear, that he fancied he already saw the prince and his officers assaulting the throne with rebellious arms; and he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose, though under the pretence of renewing the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march to Diarbekir with a numerous army, and to rid him of a son whose life was inconsistent with his own safety. But the crafty minister did not wish himself to put this cruel command into execution. As soon as he arrived in Syria, he wrote to Soliman that the danger was imminent, and called for his immediate presence; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries; that the soldiers were corrupted; that Mustapha was about to be married to a daughter of the Persian monarch; that the Sultan alone, under the circumstances, had power to carry his resolution into execution.

The last and most envenomed of all the calumnies of Roxalana and Rustan had the desired effect. Soliman had conceived an inveterate abhorrence of the Persians; and the charge of courting the friendship of the Sophi, threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He hastened to Syria with all the impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he had joined his army, and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a messenger to his son, requiring him immediately to repair to his presence. Mustapha was no stranger to the machinations of his step-mother, or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper; but conscious of his own innocence, he hastened to Aleppo. The moment he arrived, he was introduced into the Sultan's tent; he observed nothing that could give him alarm; no crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards were there; the same silence as usual reigned in the Sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes appeared, at the sight of whom, Mustapha cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes seized him: he struggled and resisted, and eagerly demanded to see the Sultan. Despair, and hope of protection from the soldiers if he could escape, animated him with extraordinary courage, and for some time he baffled the efforts of his exe-

cutioners. Soliman was within hearing of his son's cries; and impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thought of Mustapha's escape, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening gestures, seemed to condemn their sloth and timidity. At the sight of his father's unrelenting countenance, Mustapha's strength forsook him: the mutes fastened the bow-string about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life. The dead body was exposed before the Sultan's tent. The soldiers gathering round it, contented the mournful object with sorrow and indignation, and were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broken out into the wildest excess of rage. They retired to their tents, and bewailed in secret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor did any of them taste bread or even water during the remainder of the day. Next morning the same silence reigned in the camp; and Soliman fearing that some dreadful storm would follow the calm, dismissed Rustan, agreeable to a private arrangement, and raised Achmet, a brave officer, and beloved by the soldiers, to the dignity of Grand Vizier. The resentment of the soldiers gradually subsided, and the name of Mustapha began to be forgotten. Achmet was strangled by the Sultan's command, and Rustan reinstated in the office of Vizier. The designs of Roxalana and Rustan were not yet completed. The race of Mustapha must be exterminated; and for that purpose they employed the same arts to inspire Soliman with fear, lest the only son of Mustapha should grow up to avenge his father's death. Soliman issued the order, and it was executed with barbarous zeal, by an eunuch who was chosen for that purpose. No rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana.

But the domestic peace of Soliman and Roxalana was not secured by the death of Mustapha. Their sons, Bajazet and Selim, now commenced a career of mutual hatred and rivalry, which led to an event in which the cruelty of Soliman and the perfect wickedness of Roxalana were equally conspicuous. Bajazet, who had been appointed governor of Iconium, in order to forward his sinister views, permitted

an impostor, who had raised a rumour that Mustapha was still alive, to levy troops in his government. The whole empire was menaced with a revolution: Soliman seized the impostor, who in despair avowed the part taken by Bajazet. The tears of Roxalana preserved him from the vengeance of his father; but Soliman's passions neither wore away nor were forgotten. Bajazet thus being an object of suspicion, Roxalana secretly inclined to her younger son Selim; and Bajazet, in order to secure his own safety and maintain his right to the throne, levied a body of troops, and prepared to attack his brother Selim in his government of Amasia. Proscribed at length by Soliman, the unfortunate prince threw himself under the protection of the Persian Sophi. No event of his reign excited greater rage in the mind of Soliman. He prepared for war; but the arts of Roxalana saved him from this alternative. She bribed the Persian minister, and the life of the prince was made the price of a strict union between the two states. Magnificent presents, and six hundred thousand crowns of gold, were presented to the Shah, as the stipulated sum for the part he had promised to act. Hassan, who had been brought up with Bajazet from his youth, was the envoy appointed by Soliman to accomplish his revolting design. On his arrival in Persia, Hassan found Bajazet so pale and wan, and his hair and beard so overgrown, that he could not recognise him; and Hassan was compelled to strangle with his own hand, the companion of his youth, to appease the fears of Soliman. The four sons of Bajazet were involved in the father's destiny; and the sepulchre of the Ottoman race was again opened, to receive the murdered victims of an entire descent. Selim was declared prince of Amasia, a title thenceforth attached to the presumptive heir of the Ottoman throne.

These scenes of domestic discord were followed by events of a pacific character, unknown to any other part of the long and brilliant reign of Soliman, during which he displayed those great qualities of wisdom and bounty which have been the theme of admiration of the Ottoman people. But while engaged with his enlightened legislative measures, he did not neglect to attend to his finances, and to complete the numbers and add to the efficiency of his army.

An incident more personal than national, which excited the flames of a new war, rendered these precautionary measures not needless.

In the year 1558, Charles V., who had filled the world with his renown, resigned his dominions, and retired to pass the remainder of his life in preparing for eternity. Ferdinand, his brother, succeeded Charles in the empire. The states of Barbary now constituted a portion of the Ottoman empire, whence Soliman drew many of his most experienced officers. Barbarossa was no more; but he was succeeded by Dragut, a chief no less skilful and daring. His enterprises again excited a Christian league to extinguish his power, and a Spanish force was landed on the coast of Tripoli. A panic seized the Christian fleet, and they were entirely overthrown; and the army on shore, unable to embark, surrendered themselves captives. Soliman, on the arrival of the victorious fleet, proceeded to the mosque to return thanks for his triumph, when he exhibited all that dignity and composure which formed a remarkable feature in his character; and he witnessed from the garden of the seraglio the triumphant entry into port of his fleet with the captives. The knights of Malta had been foremost in this Christian league; and Soliman, enraged at those heroic warriors, and the constant vigilance which their enterprise and daring required of him, resolved to crush them altogether.

A naval armament of 200 sail, carrying an army of 30,000 men, was destined for this enterprise. The defence, conducted by La Valette, covered the Knights with honour, notwithstanding the obstinacy and the determined fury which characterised Turkish warfare. The viceroy of Sicily arriving with 10,000 men, obliged the Turks to retire with precipitation, with the loss of 24,000 men, after a siege of five months. Dragut who was much regretted by the Sultan, was amongst the number of the slain.

Hungary was at this time rent in pieces by three conflicting parties—the officers of Soliman, and of the emperor Maximilian the second, and the pretensions of Stephen, son of Isabella, Waiwode of Transylvania. Isabella had ceded Transylvania to the Turks; and in lieu of that province and

her pretensions to the crown of Hungary, received a yearly pension of 100,000 ducats, and retired into Poland, her native country. Soliman perceiving that he could not succeed in the designs he had cherished unless he overcame the emperor, resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to proceed against the enemy. Meantime the Pasha of Buda aided the Waiwode's cause, by carrying on the siege of Buda, but was compelled to retire. Soliman was in the seventy-sixth year of his age; but years had not abated either his courage or ambition. He collected an army of 200,000 men, on the plains of Adrianople; and never had an army of so splendid a character been displayed to the world. He poured this vast force upon the devastated provinces of Hungary. The Sultan was encircled by the most imposing pomp. But amid all this splendour, and placed on the very pinnacle of human grandeur and power, the pallidness of his countenance foretold that, while he advanced to victory, with his triumph he would find a tomb.

The inconsiderable fortress of Zigith, situated on the confines of Hungary, was built in a morass, and joined to the land by a causeway, which was defended by solid bastions. The indomitable spirit of the governor, with a small force of only 600 men, resisted the attacks and bribes of Soliman, who, with an army of 150,000 men and 100 pieces of ordinance, advanced against the fortress. The 29th of August, the anniversary of the battle of Mohatz, was chosen for the assault. The approach was defended inch by inch with incredible bravery. The Janizaries were thrown down headlong from a steep breach, crushed under pieces of rock, and scorched by torrents of boiling oil which the besieged were continually throwing down upon them. The Sultan, enraged at the delay caused by such a small fortress, threatened to cast the heads of his generals into the ditch of Zigith if they did not take the place. But all their efforts were unavailing; and the Sultan returning to his tent, filled with grief and despair, was seized by a fit of apoplexy, which in a few minutes terminated his life.

The Vizier Mehemet concealed the death of Soliman, and continued to press the siege. Meanwhile, he had sent for Selim to take possession of the throne. A magazine having

taken fire, the heroic defenders of Zigith were compelled to leave the ruinous heap which they had so gloriously defended. The governor, Count de Serino, preferring death to the ignominy of defeat, dressed himself in his richest clothes, and exhorting his followers not to receive quarter, threw open the gates, and at the head of his heroic band rushed upon the enemy. They caused great slaughter; but the Janizaries closing around them; they were overwhelmed by numbers, and two only, who recovered of their wounds, ended their lives in slavery.

It was the peculiar glory of the period in which Soliman occupied the Ottoman throne, to produce the most illustrious monarchs who have at any one time appeared in Europe. Charles V., Francis I., Henry VIII., and Soliman, were each of them possessed of talents which might have rendered any age in which they happened to flourish conspicuous. But such a constellation of great princes shed uncommon lustre on the sixteenth century. In every contest, great power as well as great abilities were set in opposition; the efforts of valour and conduct on one side, counterbalanced by an equal exertion of the same qualities on the other, occasioned such a variety of events as renders the history of that period interesting. But the most remarkable was the commencement of that reformation in religion which rescued one part of Europe from the Papal yoke, mitigated its rigours in the other, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest and most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity.

Soliman is known chiefly as a conqueror, but is celebrated in the Turkish annals as a great lawgiver, who established order and police in the empire, and governed during his long reign with no less authority than wisdom. During this reign, the Ottoman government seems to have attained the highest perfection of which its constitution is capable; and the Turkish troops possessed every advantage which arises from fortitude and bravery, and superiority in military discipline. The authors of the sixteenth century almost unanimously, and with mingled feelings of fear and regret, represent the Turks as far superior to the Christians both in the knowledge and in the practice of the arts of war.

Soliman first brought the finances and military establishment of the empire into a regular form; and although the revenue was far from being considerable, he supplied the defect by an attentive and severe economy. He divided the military force into two divisions; the soldiers of the Porte—or standing army, and the soldiers appointed to guard the frontiers, numbering about 150,000 men. When these were added to the soldiers of the Porte, they formed a military power greatly superior to any other state in Christendom. The frontier army consisted of soldiers to whom were given grants of land, in return for which military service was to be performed. In his book of regulations he fixed with great accuracy the extent of these lands in each province of his empire, and the number of soldiers each grant should bring into the field, and the pay which they should receive while engaged in service, and regulated everything relating to their discipline, their arms, and the nature of their service. He caused also a compilation to be made of all the maxims and regulations of his predecessors, on subjects of political economy; he strictly defined the duties, privileges, and powers of governors, commanders, and public functionaries; and he assigned to every public functionary his rank at court, in the city, and in the army. The work which he had thus finished, seemed to himself a compendium of human wisdom; he contemplated it with the fondness of a parent; and conceiving it susceptible of no further improvement, he endeavoured to secure its perpetual duration.

The Ottoman court under Soliman exhibited a degree of splendour far removed from the bigoted habits of its former masters; and he held a distinguished rank among the contemporary princes of Europe. He has been termed the glory of the Ottoman empire; but with Soliman, its glory departed; for while the current of civilization and improvement had set in among the nations of Western Europe, it was repelled by the barrier of Ottoman pride. After the reign of Soliman, the Turks no longer continued to be the terror of Christendom. The decay of the empire can be traced to internal as well as external causes. The arrogance and bigotry of the Turks led them to believe that

the institutions of Soliman were perfect, and that therefore they were susceptible of no improvement. Previous to his reign the princes of the blood were early trained to war and business, and generally before they ascended the throne, had governed provinces and commanded armies, and were in a great measure prepared for a more responsible power. But the princes were now confined to the retirement and obscurity of the harem, and when called to the throne were entirely ignorant of everything that pertains to war and government, and were naturally looked upon with contempt by the soldiers, that first and most necessary arm in a despotic government.

During a period of nearly three centuries, the armies of Turkey had been commanded by sultans that emulated each other in military genius, so that conquest became a necessary element in sustaining the traditional glory of the empire, and maintaining Turkish ascendancy in Europe. After the death of Soliman, the military talents of the sultans and the bravery and discipline of the soldiers no longer sustained their wonted reputation; while the rapid progress of civilization and improvement in the nations of Christendom, which began about this period, put an end for ever to Mahometan aggression.

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SELIM II.,

The only remaining son of Soliman, ascended the throne A.D. 1566, in the 42d year of his age. The Ottoman empire had cause to regret the change. Confusion and profligacy succeeded to strict rules of civil order: the laws ceased to be respected, and military discipline began to lose its vigour. It was well known that Selim was addicted to wine and convivial pleasures, and he took no pains to conceal his excesses from the people. Drunkenness, a crime almost unknown amongst the Turkish sovereigns, and extremely rare amongst the people, began to be looked upon with indifference; and when Selim arrived to take possession of the throne, he drank wine openly, which was hailed with joy by the populace. So strictly had the prohibition of the

prophet against the use of wine hitherto been observed, that the act for which Selim was applauded, cost Soliman the son of Bajazet his life. Meantime the Grand Vizier dreading the mutinous character of the Janizaries, kept the death of Soliman concealed, and the usual state was observed in the imperial household. The dead body of the emperor was conveyed on a horse litter covered with a cloth of gold; and it was supposed that he was merely suffering from a fit of the gout to which he was subject. Mehemet led the Turkish army, as if by the Sultan's order, towards Constantinople, and it was in the plains of Belgrade that Selim met the army and the remains of his father. The news of the death of the emperor was received by the soldiers, especially by the Janizaries, with profound grief; their next feeling was that of revolt. The body of Soliman was deposited in the magnificent mosque which, after its founder, bears the name of Solimania. To make a pilgrimage to this tomb is still considered meritorious in a devout Mussulman, not only in admiration of the splendid qualities of Soliman, but especially as he is esteemed to have been a peculiar favourite of heaven.

The imprudence of Selim soon became as manifest as his vices. No sooner had he returned from the funeral of his father, than he resolved to show himself to his subjects with the splendour of his predecessor. On this occasion the person of Selim was guarded by the chief officers of the seraglio to the exclusion of the Janizaries, who alone claimed that peculiar honour. Already dissatisfied at having lost their usual donation, on the accession of a new emperor, this mutinous body resolved to regain their lost honour and their accustomed rights. No sooner had the royal procession left the palace, than they barricaded it against his return; nor could the sovereign re-enter the imperial residence but by a compliance with their demands. The martial and energetic princes whose actions we have recorded, possessed that ascendancy over the soldiers which usually accompanies military genius; but the excesses and indolence of Selim rendered him contemptible in the estimation of the army. He was not, however, ignorant that the constant occupation of his vast forces was

necessary, if he wished to indulge in luxury and repose; and that an empire gained by the sword can suffer no contraction. The Turkish government being purely military, it was constructed only for conquest; and therefore it possessed no renovating plan of conservation or of improvement in its framework. The provinces conquered by the Turks were maintained by force, and were severally parcelled out to the government of military vassals; and the accession of new subjects continually created causes for new war. In these circumstances, Selim was of all men the most unfit for the government of his extensive empire, or to maintain the discipline of the impatient and turbulent Janizaries, which even the vigorous hand of Soliman or of Selim I. could scarcely restrain. But Mehemet, who had been the Grand Vizier of Soliman, and who exercised supreme authority under him throughout his reign, was capable, in a great measure, of supplying the defects of Selim. The Janizaries having returned to their duty and allegiance, the Vizier employed a portion of them to repress a rebellion among the powerful Arab tribes of Beni-Omer, inhabiting the deserts towards Bagdad. The rebellion was crushed; but these demonstrations of hostilities on the part of the Persian sectaries, made the Turkish government anxious to conclude a peace with the Emperor Maximilian, that it might direct thither its undivided forces. After a train of studied delays, a treaty was signed upon the condition of each party retaining what it had; and that a yearly tribute should be paid by Hungary. The Waiwode of Transylvania had concluded a mutual treaty with Austria, that that province should fall to Austria at his decease; which was guaranteed in the treaty between the Sultan and the Emperor. This beautiful and fertile province has since continued to belong to Austria.

An intense hatred had long been nourished between the Turks and Persians; and the impulse of the Turkish nation, rather than the indolent Selim, recommenced a war which the genius of his father could not bring to a successful issue. The sandy deserts of Persia being the chief defence of that country against the arms of Turkey, the Vizier resolved to open a passage for his master's fleets to the centre of the

Persian empire, by the execution of a design worthy of the enlightened genius of more modern times.

The two great rivers of the north of Europe, the Don and the Wolga, after having watered the provinces of Poland and of Russia, appear on the point of junction; but the Don suddenly turns to the right, and the Wolga to the left. The former, after having bathed the walls of Azof, loses itself in the marshes of the *Palus Mæotis*; and the latter pours its mighty mass of waters, by sixty-five mouths, into the Caspian sea, after receiving the tribute of forty-eight rivers, and running a course of thirteen hundred leagues. A space of thirty miles separates these two streams, at their nearest point of junction, and by cutting a canal through this space, a navigable route would be formed with the Bosphorus and the Caspian sea. Selim undertook the execution of this splendid design. Being master of Azof, he sent up the Don a fleet conveying 5,000 Janizaries and 3,000 workmen; and an army of 80,000 men was destined to follow their footsteps. The Janizaries, impatient for war, aided the labours of the workmen, and a body of troops was detached to take possession of the city of Astracan, on the northern shore of the Caspian, and at the principal mouth of the Wolga where the canal was to terminate. But Astracan was defended by a race capable of keeping their possessions; a people whose name had not yet reached the knowledge of the invaders, but from this moment never to be separated in history. Such was the first collision betwixt the Turks and Russians.

A thousand years have elapsed since the Russians intermingled themselves with a part of those Scelaves or Scelavonians, who from the east migrated into the north, and after having settled on the shores of the Caspian Sea, spread themselves over different parts of Europe. The real origin of the Scelavonians is unknown. Russian historians pretend to trace the origin of the Scelavonians from Saklab, and of the Russians from Rouss, both of them sons of Japhet, the youngest of the children of Noah. But it appears more consistent with historical accuracy, to say that they both sprung from that innumerable family of Huns, whose armies, like destructive torrents, inundated the most beautiful

countries of Asia and of Europe, and accelerated the downfall of the Roman empire.

At the commencement of the fifth century, the Slavonians erected the city of Novogorod, and upon the banks of the Dnieper the foundation of Kieff was laid. The former was for long the metropolis of the Slavonians, and the latter that of the Russians. These two cities continued to emulate each other in commerce and in war. Kii, the founder of Kieff, carried his victorious arms as far as the Sea of Marmora. The commerce of Novogorod rendered her every day more flourishing, and she imposed her yoke on various nations contiguous to her territory; and she proudly inscribed on her banners, "Who shall dare to attack God and Novogorod the great?" The government was democratical, and every one had a right to aspire to authority, and to employ himself in the affairs of the state, as they all possessed alike the power of increasing their private fortune by commerce. But in the bosom of prosperity and equality, they knew not how to be either happy or free. They had riches, but they had not the art of enjoying them; ambition, but not prudence; and the pride of commanding without the expectation of being obeyed. Their quarrels usually terminated in blood; and to put a stop to the anarchy which prevailed, they applied for foreign aid. Rourik, distinguished among the pirates of the Baltic, obeyed the summons, and about the middle of the ninth century arrived at the head of an unknown horde, to establish peace and servitude among the Novogorodians.

Rourik died after a short reign of seven years. He had but one son, who was named Igor, and he was left in care of Oleg, his kinsman. Oleg employed himself in extending the boundaries of the state. He made himself master of Smolensko by force, and Kieff by treachery, and by the massacre of the princes who reigned there. He established his residence at Kieff; and A. D. 904 armed a fleet of two thousand boats, with which he proceeded to lay Constantinople under tribute. In this audacious and barbarous expedition, the Russians abandoned themselves to every excess, and committed all the crimes which could possibly disgrace the most ferocious of conquerors. In this expedition they

overcame obstacles which, considering the rudeness of their government and their ignorance of arts, appear to be difficult, if not insurmountable; but their success will excite less astonishment, if we recollect that other pirates and robbers, who like them had but a few crazy skiffs, several times vanquished England and ravaged the coasts of France; and that at a later period, the freebooters with their little canoes, for a long time caused the conquerors of the new world to tremble.

Igor gave proof that he was a worthy pupil of Oleg. He fitted out a fleet of the incredible number of ten thousand vessels, and four hundred thousand warriors, with the intention of laying waste the empire of the East; and he deluged with blood, Pontus, Bithynia and Paphlagonia. There is no species of cruelty which the Russians did not exercise against the wretched inhabitants of these countries. The Greeks, however, were at last successful. The Russian fleet was destroyed; and this barbarian led back to his capital only a third of the numerous army with which he set out. A second expedition proved less unfortunate; and the Greek emperor chose rather to pay a tribute to Igor, than to attempt to vanquish him.

Alga, the wife of Igor, was at the death of this prince, left in charge of the government of his states. She showed herself to be no less barbarous than he had been, and she was more perfidious and more superstitious. In her old age she embraced Christianity; but her conversion was neither imitated by her subjects, nor even by her son, to whom she yielded up the throne.

The example of embracing Christianity, exhibited by Wladimir I., the fourth in descent from Rourik, had a greater effect. After having passed the most considerable portion of his life in the fury of carnage, and in the delusion of idolatry, he took a fancy, in order to gratify alike his ambition and his lust, to espouse the sister of the emperor of Constantinople, who durst not refuse her to him, and to become a Christian, according to the Greek rites. He caused himself to be baptized, and commanded his subjects to do the same. Influenced by novelty, or perhaps by fear, every one hastened to obey the summons.

There is every reason to reject, as altogether fabulous, the history of the origin and settlement, and of the feuds and conquests of the Russians and Sclavonians, as neither the Russians nor the Sclavonians even possessed an alphabet, and therefore could not set down in writing those events of which they were the authors. They appear in the Byzantine annals in the year 851, before which their history is not entitled to be regarded as authentic. Until the year 988, the Russians and Sclavonians had several deities, of which the principal was *Peroun*, whom they believed hurled the thunder, and regulated at his pleasure all the celestial phenomena, and to whom they frequently sacrificed human victims. *Koupalo* was the god of plenty and of harvests; and his worshippers did not bedew his altars with blood; nor those of *Lada*, whom they regarded as the goddess of love. Other divinities protected flocks, or presided over war, navigation, sleep and riches. This mythology resembles that of Greece, or may be supposed to be an imitation of it; but it does not appear how these ignorant barbarians acquired or when they adopted this mythology; and it can scarcely be supposed that they had the knowledge or the means to enable them to adopt it from the Grecian annals.

The human mind in all ages and nations, in its progress from the savage state to civilization, presents a remarkable resemblance; and mankind in widely different eras, and in the opposite hemispheres of the globe, have conceived similar superstitions and discovered nearly approximating methods, according to the circumstances in which they have been placed, to enable them to procure the necessaries and even the comforts of life. It is not unlikely, therefore, that a religion akin to the mere outlines of the Grecian mythology may have arisen in the deserts of Russia or of Tartary.

But whencesoever the Sclavonians derived their mythology, whether it was the invention of their prophets or early priesthood, or adopted from some superior race, it may fairly be regarded as a measure by which to gauge their intellectual and moral capabilities. If it was the reflection of their own intelligence, it evinces that the race possessed originally high natural endowments; or if adopted from some foreign source, it is still an index, that at a very

early period they possessed susceptibilities of a high order, capable of the comparative civilization which has since marked their history. It appears, indeed, to be a law applicable to all the different races and tribes of mankind, that the higher and larger the form of religious belief, the more elevated is the intelligence, and the more rapidly such races advance in the sciences and the arts of life. Accordingly, we find that those races who have embraced Fetich worship, are unmarked by any distinctive signs of progress, and have little more history than the wild animals by which they are surrounded. The idea, indeed, of there existing a superintending power, such as that entertained by the Slavonic race, for every class of natural and moral phenomena, bespeaks at once a lofty intelligence, and hence indicates a range of thought in other directions, which required only superior opportunities to develop and mature.

Walodimar was not long in giving a proof of the impotency of the idols which he had so long adored. He ordered that of Peroun to be fastened to the tail of a horse, who drew it to the banks of the Dnieper, when a dozen of soldiers beat it with a stick and threw it into the river. The god made no resistance, and Walodimar applauded the act.

It is needless to review the actions of a crowd of princes who ruled during the first four centuries of which Russian history makes mention, whose only object seems to have been to tyrannize over their subjects, and to disturb their neighbours. Their history presents only a constant succession of iniquitous aggressions, of atrocious combats, and of absurd superstitions. We could only exhibit the most perfidious treachery concealed under a veil of sincerity; brother murdered by the hand of brother; ignorance pouring forth accusations of sorcery, and causing its victims to perish by the fire and by the sword; old age and infancy butchered without mercy, and the conquered loaded with chains. The reign of one of those barbarians exhibits a type of all the rest; for each resembles another in ambition and ferocity.

But a great revolution in the year 1220 interrupted for a time their tyranny, without altering their character. This was produced by the irruptions of the Tartars or Mongols, under Zenghis-Khan, who of all conquerors has farthest ex-

tended the power of his arms. But it was reserved for Batou-Sagin, grandson of Zenghis, entirely to subjugate Russia. In those bloody invasions the Tartars renewed all those excesses, of which the Russians so many times had set the example. They reduced to ashes a great number of cities and villages, and massacred not only the inhabitants who made the slightest resistance, but frequently those who submitted and implored their pity. The Russians continued during three centuries to be vassals of the Tartars.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, Ivan Wassilowitch emancipated Russia from the Tartar yoke. Ivan II., the contemporary of Selim the Sultan of Turkey, had distinguished his reign by the conquest of the kingdoms of Cassan and Astracan; and it was this redoubtable foe whom Selim unwittingly proceeded to provoke. The canal for uniting the Don and the Wolga was making rapid progress, when 5,000 Russians unexpectedly attacked those engaged in the works. The Janizaries and workmen, taken by surprise, were slaughtered without resistance. This unexpected enemy, coupled with other causes, put an end to the splendid enterprise of the Ottoman Sultan.

The Mussulman faith requires that a certain prayer should be offered in the third portion of the night; but in those countries where a short interval interposes between the setting and rising of the sun, induced the Turks to believe that the regions of the north were absolutely interdicted to true Mussulmans. The jealousy also of a chief who, fearing that the completion of the canal would render the service and alliance of the Tartar Khans less necessary, artfully spread a rumour exaggerating the suffering of the troops in these forlorn climates; and to complete the alarm, the Tartars lamented the loss of their companions in the same faith, called to labour in a climate where the shortness of the night, and the quick appearance of the orb of light above the horizon after midnight, left the Mussulmans, during the months of summer, no midnight period for their stipulated prayers. Menaces and promises were equally vain; the soldiers and labourers deserted, and this great project of uniting the west with the east was finally abandoned.

The design of uniting Europe and Asia, by joining the Caspian with the Bosphorus, had indeed been conceived long before the time of Selim. Seleucus Nicator, ages before, had planned the junction of the Euxine with the Cimmerian Bosphorus. When the Turkish government attempted the measure, it had become of the greatest importance to that empire both in a military and commercial point of view. It would have enabled the Turks to have the more easily invaded and subdued Persia, and to have held in check all those numerous tribes which inhabited those regions to the north of the Euxine and Caspian seas. The rich commerce of India had already found another way to Europe by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; and had the European seas been more nearly approximated to the Indus, by opening a navigable route from the Euxine to the Caspian, and to the river Oxus, Turkey, in the hands of a commercial and industrious people, might have still retained a great part of the lucrative traffic of the East. But the Turks, under the influence of superstition, and enslaved to a tax of nocturnal prayers, abandoned the noblest enterprise they had ever undertaken, upon a trifling and accidental reverse of their arms. This project was conceived by Cassim Pasha, the same individual who constructed, by his liberality, the quarter of Constantinople which bears his name. To Turkey only one immediate advantage marked this enterprise: a horde of 30,000 Tartars, friendly to the Turks, abjured the Russian sceptre, and came to tenant the banks of the Don.

Selim might endeavour to efface from his mind the vexation which he felt from the failure of the scheme to unite the Don with the Wolga: he might ascribe the failure to superhuman causes, and thus find an excuse for his own weakness and the superstition of his subjects. But whatever might have been his feelings, his indolent mind was roused to a state of temporary activity; and he meditated a design marked by all the perfidy of the age in which he lived. The Ottoman Porte and the Venetians were at peace; but treaties were mere truces to be broken when convenient, and could be disposed of by a festa of the Mufti. In direct opposition to his grand vizier, Selim decided to attack Cyprus.

Cyprus, a large and beautiful island in the Levant, is situated at nearly an equal distance from Caramania on the north, and Syria on the east. It is about 70 leagues in length, and about 30 in its greatest breadth from north to south. This island was in a peculiar manner consecrated to Venus, the mother of the graces, the loves, and the pleasures. She was called by the poets not only the Cyprian but the Paphian queen, because she was worshipped by the whole island, but especially by the inhabitants of Paphos, one of its most populous cities, where an hundred altars daily smoked with male animals offered in sacrifice, and perfumed with the richest odours of Arabian incense. Paphos, Idalia, and Amathonte combine in their very names the tones of voluptuousness. Thirty cities had embellished ancient Cyprus, but in 1570 they were to be chiefly traced by their ruins. Yet the island even then maintained a numerous population, as attested by a list of 1,500 villages. The city of Constanza was built on the remains of Salamine, while Buffo recalls, in its name, the celebrated Paphos. Simisso can be very imperfectly traced in Amathonte; and Idalia is only to be known from a few obscure ruins under the name of Dalin. Nicosia and Famagousta, the two principal modern cities in the island, are the representatives of the ancient Lédra and of Arsinoe. Nicosia occupies the centre of the island, while Famagousta stands on the shore opposite to the coast of Syria.

Since the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks, its most valuable productions and riches have vanished, and its inhabitants have gradually fallen from the high station which they held while under the Venetians, to the most abject state of apathy and indolence. "The rigours of an oppressive domination," says M. Sonnini, "have shed their baneful influence over fields, arts, and men. Valleys once shaded by useful or agreeable trees, which culture enriched with harvests of every species, or adorned with verdure and flowers, now remain uncultivated, and overrun with brambles, and other stubborn, meagre, and useless plants. One may travel whole days in plains deserted and abandoned to that mournful and pernicious fecundity, which on lands impatient to produce, is sterility's constant companion." The account which Dr.

Clarke has given us of the present state of this island is equally melancholy, and affords a striking lesson of the effects of a tyrannical and selfish policy.

Mustapha Pasha, the adviser of the war, and the rival of the Vizier-Azem, led the army, and the celebrated Piali, the successor of Barbarossa and Dragut, commanded the fleet destined for the expedition against Cyprus. The fortifications of Famagousta being in a dilapidated state, presented the most vulnerable point of attack; but Mustapha, in order to gratify the greedy and ferocious Janizaries, obstinately resolved upon besieging Nicosia, the capital of the kingdom, the celebrated abode of the kings of Cyprus. The riches of Nicosia presented a lure to the rapacious Turks. The siege lasted fourteen days, and was remarkable for the display of that valour and obstinacy characteristic of Turkish assaults. The city was carried by force, and the inhabitants experienced all the horrors of unrestrained and ruthless cruelty. Twenty thousand Christians of both sexes perished; and the interesting residence of so many illustrious kings sunk into the obscurity of a Turkish pashalic.

The short interval occupied in the siege of Nicosia had been employed by Bragandino in strengthening the defences of Famagousta, the siege of which commenced in April and was protracted to June, by the bravery of its heroic defenders. The usual system of assault and bloodshed marked the attack and defence, and every effort of Mustapha proved unavailing to overcome the devotion and energy of the defenders. After the means of subsistence had entirely disappeared, dogs, rats, and the most disgusting matter were used for food; and every hope of succour having failed, Bragandino capitulated upon the pledge of safety and liberty to depart. This solemn stipulation was speedily broken by the perfidious Mustapha, and the heroic Bragandino, after the most cruel insults, was inhumanly flayed alive. The remainder of the island surrendered, and the whole of Cyprus thus became annexed from thenceforth to the Ottoman empire.

The honour and public spirit of Europe were involved in this unequal contest; but the Christian states, engaged in private wars, forgot alike their interest and their duty, and

they allowed this bulwark of Christendom in the east to be finally torn from them. When we consider the length that this small maritime state held out against the undivided strength of the Ottoman empire, it appears evident that the assistance of a friendly fleet would have saved this beautiful island from Mahometan dominion.

But the fall of Cyprus at last roused the western states from their slumber; and a sense of danger rather than a feeling of patriotism, healed for a moment their jealousies, and a league was formed between the Roman pontiff, King Philip II., and the Venetian republic, for their mutual defence.

Prompted by his successful attack upon Cyprus, and taking advantage of the discord which prevailed amongst the Christian sovereigns, Selim was planning the recovery of Tunis, when he heard of the approach of a hostile fleet, upon which the Ottoman fleet imprudently entered the Gulf of Lepanto. The roadstead of Lepanto, the scene of the battle of Actium, between Augustus and Mark Antony, which decided the fate of the Roman world, was destined to be the theatre of the most splendid naval victory of this period. The Venetians, who had suffered by the delays of the Christians, and exasperated by the scandal which the loss of Cyprus brought upon them, despaired of benefiting by the league; but as if destined to reward past misfortunes, the whole Turkish fleet, consisting of 200 galleys and 66 frigates or brigantines, lay open to attack. Don John of Austria, brother of Philip II. King of Spain, at the head of the allied fleet, prepared to seize the propitious opportunity. The sea seemed covered with vessels ready for the encounter. Ali, who commanded the Ottoman fleet, had arranged it in three divisions: himself with Partau, a celebrated corsair, occupied the centre; the squadron of the right was commanded by Siroc, and the left division by the King of Algiers. The Christian fleet consisted of nearly the same number of vessels: Don John took the centre; Doria led the right; a noble Venetian commanded the left. Don John, surrounded by the flower of Italy, of Spain, and of the Knights of Malta, directed the attack. Shouts of acclamation arose from the impatient combatants; and at seven in the morning the

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battle commenced with great fury. A Venetian inflicted the first blow by sinking the galley of Siroc. The Spaniards, emulating the Venetian, opened a terrible fire upon the Ottoman's centre; Ali fell by a cannon ball; and the Spaniards witnessing his death, attacked his vessel, boarded her and massacred the crew, and the standard of the cross, supplanting that of the crescent, waved from the mast of the admiral's galley. At this glorious sight, a universal exclamation of victory burst from the Christian fleet; and the Turks, as if thunderstruck by the unusual circumstance, suffered themselves to be overthrown and massacred almost without resistance. The galleys of the King of Algiers alone escaped from the general destruction.

Occheali was engaging the vessels in the left wing, when the cries of victory and the closing of the centre on his division warned him of his danger. He passed on with undaunted courage, followed by thirty galleys, through the whole centre of the Christian fleet, and gained the open sea. This division was the sole relic of the Turkish navy. The Ottomans had not received so signal a defeat since the overthrow of Bajazet. The Christians took 161 galleys and 12 frigates. They were occupied a fortnight in dividing the spoil, during which they were often on the point of turning their arms against each other. Never was such an opportunity of humbling a dangerous and aggressive people permitted to pass away. The consequences which might have followed the appearance of the confederates before the walls of Constantinople might have produced the most important results; but Philip, the most gloomy and jealous of sovereigns, had no wish to strengthen the Venetian states; and the results of a victory which might have fixed the maritime superiority of Western Europe, was only the capture of one or two useless islands. The battle of Lepanto closed for the year the naval campaign.

Notwithstanding, however, the apathy of the Christians, the glory of such a victory spread terror throughout the Ottoman states, and restored the courage of the confederates.

Selim sank into the deepest grief; but he lost no time in preparing to encounter the dangers which seemed to await him. Fifteen thousand persons were forwarded to strengthen

the fortifications of the Dardanelles, and redoubts were formed on the ruins of the tomb of Hecuba, opposite to the Cape of Ajax on the Sigean promontory. The alarmed populace watched for the appearance of the hostile fleet on the waters of the Propontis. Meanwhile Occhiali arrived with his small division of the armament; and at this crisis the undaunted valour of the Corsair King was worth more than a fleet to the Turkish cause. He revived the spirits of the emperor and the people by undertaking to defend the capital; and the sovereign, whose gratitude was excited, perhaps by fear, proclaimed him Capitan Pasha on the spot. The energetic Occhiali knew better how to repair a disaster, than the confederates did to improve their success. The Ulema contributed their treasures: workmen, sailors, and soldiers were collected from Asia, Africa, and Europe; the forests on the Black Sea supplied timber; the shipwrights of Constantinople worked at the same time upon the hulls, the rigging, the sails, and the masts of the vessels; and in less than six months, 200 galleys, well equipped, covered the port of the capital.

The grand vizier exhibited to the Venetian minister upon this occasion, the dignified self-possession with which the Turkish government officially treats the most serious disaster. This minister having demanded an audience of Mehemet, he could not repress the lurking indications of rejoicing which such a victory afforded him. "Learn," said the haughty and quick-sighted Ottoman, "that the loss of a fleet to my master the Sultan, is as the beard of a man which grows the faster for the shaving; but the loss of Cyprus to Venice, is as an arm cut off from the body which no art can replace."

Occhiali, who was without doubt the preserver of the empire, was the pupil of Barbarossa, and in the service of the Sultan, his talents and valour elevated him to the highest rank. Upon his elevation he took the title of Kilig or 'the sword.' Constantinople is indebted to him for the beautiful mosque of Top-hana, which he is said to have finished with surprising expedition; and it is even asserted that the first story was completed in a night. The capital rang with wonder. Kilig, who seems to have united the arts of the courtier to the valour of the warrior, said to the Sultan,

“this building is erected solely by the hands of the slaves of your galleys ; what therefore may you not expect from our united efforts, when by your will they are directed against your enemies ?”

The maritime strength of Turkey being regenerated by the talents of Kilig, he put to sea with his new fleet, and braved the force of the confederates on their own coast. Philip II., the chief of the confederates, withdrew his squadrons, and the Venetians were compelled to make peace with the loss of Cyprus and part of Dalmatia.

The distant provinces of the Turkish empire were a continual source of anxiety to the Sultans ; and about this period, a formidable insurrection broke out in Moldavia, which, however, was subdued. Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis acknowledged the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte ; and with the view of increasing his power in the Mediterranean sea, Selim contemplated the reduction of Malta ; but he was carried off by fever in the ninth year of his reign. Overcome by indolence and superstition, this prince devoted himself to wine and pleasure ; and worn out by early intemperance and debauchery, he became a prey to superstitious fears, which so affected his mind, that a morbid melancholy shortened his life.

Selim left to his son Amurath, an empire improved by the accession of the beautiful island of Cyprus. In Africa the Pillars of Hercules marked its boundary, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers having voluntarily ranged themselves under the shadow of the Ottoman throne. In Europe, on the side of Moldavia, the frontiers stretched to Podolia ; and in Dalmatia, the empire was limited by Zara, Spalatro, and Sibenico, the Ottoman frontiers embracing the strong chain of mountains which close up these important places.

But the Ottoman empire now began to hasten to decay. Its feeble-minded monarchs became the slaves of the turbulent soldiery. The rich provinces of Asia Minor were desolated by rebellions. Its treasury was exhausted, and its armies were consumed in the swamps of Hungary or in the arid deserts of Persia. Surrounded by formidable enemies, whose numbers and power daily increased, and torn by intestine divisions, it now appeared impossible that Turkey could long

retain that supremacy which the valour of her armies had acquired.

The English about this period, without perhaps any mutual communication with the Turks, or without entertaining any spirit of rivalry towards them, endeavoured by a different route than that proposed by the Sultan Selim, to establish a commerce with the East.

Queen Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence and prosperity of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation.—The communication with Muscovy had been opened in Queen Mary's time by the discovery of the passage to Archangel; but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on till about the year 1569. The Queen obtained from the Czar an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy; and she entered into a national as well as a personal alliance with him. This Czar was John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to ensure this resource he proposed to marry an English woman; and the Queen intended to have sent him Lady Ann Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon; but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, she wisely declined purchasing an empire at the expense of her ease and safety.

The English, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained, ventured farther into those countries than any European had formerly done. They transported their goods along the Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the stream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days' journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan. At Astracan they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures in Persia.

The English trade with Turkey commenced a few years later; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by Queen Elizabeth. Before that time the Grand Signior had always conceived England to be a dependant

province of France; but having heard of the Queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

After the death of Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade. When the Queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers that princes must carry an indifferent hand as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Queen Elizabeth!

The greatest activity prevailed at this period throughout the different states of Europe, in extending and improving their commercial relations. The spirit of the age indeed was strongly bent on naval and military enterprises; many successful attempts were made for the discovery of new countries, and thus many additional branches of foreign commerce were opened up to the different mercantile states of Europe. England, especially, had fairly embarked in a career of enterprise, which with characteristic energy she has ever since continued to pursue.

None of the advantages arising to Europe from an increased spirit of enterprise and inquiry extended to Turkey. The Turks, indeed, continued to gain great but temporary victories by land and sea, and they maintained for a time, with the exception of some trifling reverses, not only the integrity, but extended the boundaries of their empire.

The prosperity of a nation like that of Turkey, which depends, in a great measure, upon the character and military talents of the chief, must necessarily be liable to great fluctuations. Hence Turkey, according to the character of its rulers, might fall at once from the height of its civil and military prosperity, to a state of comparative weakness and disorganization. Such, indeed, must be the fate of every country which does not contain within itself the seeds of social and political regeneration.

AMURATH III.

This prince, even more cowardly and superstitious than his father, followed now what appeared to be the established practice, of devoting to death all the other males of the deceased Sultan's family. This and every other action of his reign was prompted and regulated by the reveries of astrology. The death of Selim, which had been concealed until the arrival of Amurath from Amasia, was announced at the rising of the sun, and at the same time the accession of Amurath to the throne was proclaimed. The next step was the execution of the five brothers of the Sultan, who being conducted to his throne, were strangled in his presence. By a refinement in cruelty, their mothers were called to witness their fate, to be thereby assured of their decease. The mother of Soliman, one of the ill-fated youths, becoming frantic at the sight, struck a poniard to her heart, and joined her breathless remains to his. The bodies of the five sons of Selim were borne into the chamber of death where their father lay; and the same funeral pomp conveyed, with the exception of Amurath, the male race of Othman to the tomb of Sancta Sophia.

The mutinous spirit of the Janizaries greatly increased during the reign of this feeble prince; but the capital was relieved of their presence by a Persian war, which continued to occupy the army, and to exhaust the treasures of the Sultan for nearly twelve years. Having afterwards directed their enthusiasm in defence of the Hungarian provinces, Amurath himself was induced by the solicitations of his vizier to place his foot in the stirrup, and to appear at the head of the army; but his wavering mind was so overcome by terror during a violent tempest, that he shut himself up in the Seraglio, and fell a victim to his own gloomy and imaginary fears.

He was reclining one day in the Kiosk of Sinan, and pensively contemplating the moving picture of the Bosphorus, when he heard the musicians singing the melancholy strain which he had formerly composed to the words, "I am overwhelmed with the burden of my woes; O death, this night

will be thy triumph." At this moment two vessels entering the porte, saluted, in passing, the point of the Seraglio. The report of the cannon broke the crystal window of the Kiosk, and the fragments were scattered over the sofa and the person of the Sultan. Amurath turned pale, and declared that his fears were realised. His death took place a few days afterwards.

The Hungarian war continued throughout the reigns of his successors

MAHOMET III. AND ACHMET I.

The emperor of Germany, Rodolph II., made an alliance with the sovereigns of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, for the purpose of carrying on active operations against the common enemies of Christianity. The Turks had lost much of their self-confidence; and since that time, though they have sometimes enjoyed a transitory success, the real stability of their affairs has constantly declined. They now disdained not to call the Tartars to their aid against an enemy whom they had formerly despised. But the combined forces of the Turks and Tartars could not withstand the confederated Christians; they were defeated in several engagements, and many of their cities fell into the hands of the conquerors. In a short time the Turks were driven from every place they had held in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, while in Hungary the plague and famine made such havock among their troops, that of 85,000 who had entered it, in a short time only 8,000 remained. They were stript of all their conquests on the side of Persia by Shah 'Abbas the Great; and the empire was saved more by the clemency of the conqueror than by its own power of resistance.

MUSTAPHA,

A weak and imbecile prince, occupied the throne for a few months, and was deposed to make room for

OTHMAN II.,

Who ascended the throne A. D. 1618. Othman was endowed with qualities that might have enabled him to revive the glories of the reign of Soliman; but he was destitute alike of both prudence and experience. His pride and severity excited against him the hatred of the Janizaries, and contrary to the advice of his wisest councillors, his ambition and obstinacy hurried him into a war with the Poles who at that time possessed a military fame not inferior to that of any other European nation. He led an army of 400,000 Turks to the banks of the Dniester, and after having seven times assaulted the Polish camp with the most determined courage and perseverance, he was compelled to retire in disgrace, with his discomfited and discontented troops. A revolt of the Janizaries immediately followed, in which Othman was deposed and strangled, and Mustapha again raised to the throne. This stupid prince enjoyed the pageant of royalty only for a short period, when the sceptre was placed in the hands of


AMURATH IV.

This prince was possessed of great endowments both of body and mind; and had these endowments not been obscured by licentiousness and cruelty, he might have shed additional lustre on the Ottoman throne. The insolence and rapacity of the Janizaries, who had now adopted the system of commanding their sovereigns, and of raising whom they pleased to the throne, first attracted the attention of Amurath. These lawless soldiery had murdered the *kaimaken*, or lieutenant of the Grand Vizier, in the presence of the Sultan. Amurath marked the deed in silence, but watched his opportunity of revenge. The most seditious were arrested and privately executed; detachments were from time to time sent off to the frontiers; and when their numbers in the capital were thus no longer formidable, Amurath issued an order for their destruction. This order was ac-

accompanied by a *fetva* of the Mufti enjoining the inhabitants of Constantinople and other principal cities to take up arms and slay every Janizary within their walls. The order was rigorously obeyed, and this once powerful body were reduced to such weakness that they became incapable of any seditious movement during the whole of this prince's reign.

A war of thirty years now broke out in Europe, which relieved Amurath from all apprehensions on the side of Christendom. He was therefore enabled to direct the whole strength of the empire against Bagdad, which had been reduced by the Persians. Three hundred thousand Ottomans surrounded the devoted city; thirty days it withstood their incessant assaults, and it fell at last by the treachery of the governor, and was given up to massacre and pillage. The bloody mandate was in the process of being executed, when Shah Cali, the Orpheus of Persia, presented himself before Amurath, and sung to the *Scheschader* the downfall and misery of his native city with such intense and touching enthusiasm, that the conqueror was melted to tears, and commanded the slaughter to be suspended. Amurath led back his army loaded with plunder, and made a triumphant entry into his capital; but he did not long survive this important capture, being soon thereafter carried off by a fever, the consequence of a deep debauch, in the 31st year of his age.

The bravery and skill of Amurath in war, obtained for him the surname of *Gazi*, or conqueror. His energy and steadiness of purpose assured the internal tranquillity of the empire, which during the former reigns had been frequently disturbed by the arrogance and outrages of the Janizaries. Of all his army none could excel him in handling the bow, or wielding the scimitar, or was so expert in managing his horse and throwing the *jerid*. Amurath was cruel even to ferocity. The slightest act of disobedience was punished with death, which he often executed with his own hand; and so fond was he of shedding blood, that he is said sometimes to have sallied out of his palace at midnight with a drawn sword, and to have put to death any unfortunate person whom he chanced to meet. He was early addicted



to an excessive indulgence in wine, which continued through life, and brought him at last to a premature grave.

IBRAHIM,

The only surviving male of the house of Othman, succeeded to the sceptre. Timid and feeble, indolent and effeminate, he resigned himself entirely to the pleasures of the harem, and left the direction of affairs to the Grand Vizier Mustapha, the favourite of Amurath. The Vizier infused into the government of Ibrahim the energy and decision of its former master; he overawed the refractory soldiers by severe discipline, and cut off the Pachas whom he suspected of seditious purposes. He cleared the Euxine of the Cossack pirates, and expelled them from the city of Azoff; but he soon after fell a sacrifice to the resentment of Kioseme, the Validé Sultana, whose influence predominated within the walls of the Seraglio.

Determining that they would no longer tolerate the dominion of the Venetians in the Ægean sea, the Turks turned their arms against the island of Candia. This beautiful island, the ancient Crete, forms, as it were, the base to the Grecian Archipelago, and is about sixty leagues in length, and fifteen at its greatest breadth. This island enjoys a most delightful climate, equally removed from excessive heat and violent cold. But what conduces chiefly to the salubrity of Candia, is the complete absence of those noxious vapours which arise from marshy grounds, and the abundance of salutary plants. The waters never stand in a state of stagnation; and scarcely is there a morass to be found in the island. The mountains and hills are overspread with various kinds of thyme, and with a multitude of odoriferous and balsamic plants: the rivulets which flow down the valleys are overhung with myrtles and laurel roses. Clumps of orange, citron, and almond trees are plentifully scattered over the fields. The gardens are adorned with tufts of Arabian jasmine. In spring they are bestrewed with beds of violets, and some extensive plains are arrayed in saffron. The cavities of the rocks are fringed with sweet-smelling

dittany. From the hills, from the vales, and the plains, on all hands there arise clouds of exquisite perfumes, which embalm the air and render it a luxury to breathe in. The climate has been famous from the remotest antiquity; and Hippocrates, the father of physic, considered it the best restorer of health to his debilitated patients, whom he sent hither to breathe an atmosphere impregnated with such delightful emanations. Under this gentle sky the Turks have acquired a taller stature, a more robust make, and a more majestic step than their countrymen on the continent; and it has been matter of surprise that the natives who enjoy the same blessings of nature, should have degenerated both in form and beauty. But the cause may be found in the yoke of cruel slavery with which they are oppressed, which tends to degrade the body as well as the mind. They drag out their days in fear and anxiety, and are sometimes hurried by despair to put a violent end to their existence. Their countenances are disfigured by marks of servility and meanness; and the high-spirited Cretans, once the jealous guardians of liberty and the arts, are now converted into the cowardly, abject, and indolent Candians.

Here disease is scarcely known. The salubrity of the climate is equalled by the fertility of the soil, which is capable of producing in the richest profusion, whatever can delight the senses or gratify the appetite. The most delicious and the most fragrant flowers are its spontaneous productions. Forests of pines, cedars, and firs, crown the summits and cover the declivities of the mountains. The plains are well stocked with game, and the groves and gardens are filled with a variety of singing birds, among which are the linnet, the nightingale, the goldfinch, the bullfinch, the lark, and the thrush.

But in this rich and delightful country, where the soil requires very little labour from the hand of the husbandman, to produce in profusion, not only the necessities but the luxuries of life, the Candian cannot or dare not appreciate the blessings and advantages which nature has so liberally scattered around him. Oppressed by his tyrannical masters, —exposed to insult, to outrage, and even to robbery from every janizary, he feels no inclination to increase by labour,

a produce which he might soon have the mortification of seeing pass into the hands of those whom he has so much reason to hate.

The situation of this island as an emporium for commerce can scarcely be surpassed. Placed at almost an equal distance from Europe, Asia, and Africa, it bears an equal relation to these three quarters of the world, and might be rendered the storehouse of their various productions and manufactures; but like its other advantages, its favourable position for trade is entirely neglected by the Turks, who have ever been utter strangers to industry and the arts; and the Greeks dare not take measures to promote either the public welfare or their private advantage. Were Candia in the hands of an enlightened and industrious people, it might become the granary of the surrounding nations. But every species of improvement, whether in agriculture or commerce, is disgraced and persecuted by the Turks; and indolence and effeminacy have so destroyed all spirit of emulation and exertion, that the inhabitants of this fertile region, are compelled to draw from other lands the means of their subsistence.

The Turks, who had previously made several attempts upon Candia, now obtained by perfidy what they could not accomplish by open force. During the preparations of a mighty armament which was destined to be employed against this island, the Venetian ambassadors were told with the most solemn assurances, that Malta was the object to be attacked, and that the republic need be under no apprehension for the safety of her possessions. The ambassadors were even loaded with presents, and the fleet was directed to bear for Cape Matapan, as if bound to a point far to the west of the Archipelago. But in the midst of these protestations of amity, the Turkish fleet, consisting of 400 sail, with 60,000 troops on board, entered the bay of Caneo, in 1645. The Venetian governor, Cornaro, who had made no preparations for their reception, was awakened from his seeming security, only by the intelligence of their descent upon the island. A body of 3,500 infantry and a small number of cavalry, were the only force he had to oppose to this powerful armament; and his distance from Venice deprived him of all hope of a speedy

reinforcement. The Turks having seized the forts upon the island St. Theodore, invested the city of Canea, whose garrison consisted only of 1,000 regular troops. These, however, being strengthened by 250 more, which Cornaro found means to throw into the city, made a desperate resistance. Monks and women appeared upon the walls in the midst of the defenders; and for two months they held out against the mighty power of the Turks. Despairing at last of relief from Venice, with the walls breached in three places, and the defenders reduced to 500 men, exhausted with fatigue, and covered with wounds, they made an honourable capitulation, and marched out of the city with the honours of war. Twenty thousand Ottomans was the sacrifice which the Caneans had exacted for the loss of their city. The fall of Retimo soon succeeded. Cornaro fell in the ranks of his soldiers when boldly opposing the approach of the Turks to that city. The whole of the island submitted to the conquerors except the capital, Candia, which alone owned the authority of Venice.

In the meantime Ibrahim had rendered himself obnoxious to all classes of his subjects, by his open and voluptuous sensuality; and in an insurrection of the Janizaries, instigated by the Mufti, he was deposed and soon after put to death.

MUHAMMED IV.,

The infant son of Ibrahim, was scarcely seven years old when he became master of the Ottoman throne. The reins of government were necessarily committed to another; and for the first time in the annals of his race, they were firmly grasped by a female hand.

Kiosem, the Sultana Valide, the mother of the three last emperors, held the first station, not less by her rank than by the vigour of her mind. The year in which Ibrahim perished was notable for similar sanguinary and striking events, both in Asia and Europe, such, indeed, as prove the instability of human power, by the reverses which overtake the great of the earth. The East furnished one of these ex-

amples, in the calamitous fortune which overwhelmed the splendid Mogul Shah Jehan, whom his son Aurengzebe dethroned. That successful prince severally vanquished his brothers in rotation and put them to death. England exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of the trial and execution of her sovereign Charles I.

For some time the ascendancy of the Sultana Kiosem was acquiesced in. But jealousies and intrigues arose in the court in which the Janizaries, the Ulema, and the Mufti performed their several parts. The Aga of the Janizaries had already decided upon the dethronement of Muhammed, and the elevation of Soliman, a younger brother, who had no longer a mother. Kiosem acquiesced, as it would confirm her rights as the Sultana Valide. Their scheme was counteracted by the firmness of Grand Vizier Seaus Pasha, whose presence of mind seemed to equal his courage and firmness. He hastened to the Seraglio, and his first step was to secure the person of Sultana Valide Kiosem, who fell at once into his power. Secluded in her apartments, and anticipating the successful development of her schemes, a few hours changed her prospects to an ignominious death. The Janizaries acquiescing in the election of Bactas Pasha, as Aga, they returned to duty and allegiance; and the new functionary evinced his zeal and obedience by secretly executing all those most obnoxious to himself and hostile to the Sultan.

But tranquillity did not long prevail. Those who favoured the cause of Valide Kiosem were exasperated to the highest pitch. They simultaneously assembled, and assailing the detached parties of Janizaries, cut them to pieces. They attacked the palace of the Grand Vizier and chief Pashas, involving every one who opposed them in destruction.

It now became necessary to elect a new vizier, and the black eunuchs, who amid these dangers and revolts directed public affairs, mutually cast their eyes upon an individual to fulfil the eminent duties of the viziriat, who, on account of his insignificance, had been overlooked in the revolt. So little are the qualities of men understood by superficial observers, that the person thus promoted proved eventually the most eminent vizier of the Turkish annals, and the founder of an illustrious house. He was the son of a renegade, by name

Kiuperli, and supposed to be of French extraction. His talents enabled him effectually to disperse the spahis among the sanjaks of Asia, and to re-establish internally, the due administration of the laws, as well as to pursue the war in Candia.

Meantime the siege of Candia languished, and the Venetian fleet gained various successes over the Turks.

Mehemet Kiuperli, with the view of employing the dangerous soldiery of the capital, availed himself of a pretended rebellion in Transylvania to light up anew the flames of war in Hungary.

The Sultan, whose mind was imbued with the terrible scenes of his infancy, willingly adopted the wishes of his Vizier, and left a capital polluted with blood, to follow the chase amid the fine plains and scenery around Adrianople. During the absence of the Sultan, the aged Vizier coerced the capital with a rod of iron, and was preparing to lead an army into Hungary. The weight of eighty-six years had not quenched his physical ardour, when death closed the career of one of the most enlightened and regretted of the Ottoman statesmen. Achmet, the son of Kiuperli, was created Vizier, and he emulated, if not surpassed, the fame of his father.

Achmet Kiuperli bent his whole energies to the war in Hungary, and in the spring of 1662, possessed himself of the strong fortress of Neuhasel, whence he proceeded to ravage Moravia.

Two years had passed in the petty warfare of posts and of strong places until Montecuculi, in 1664, at the head of a French contingent, opposed the Vizier on the Raab. The Grand Vizier, impatient to find his career thus arrested, gave the command to his soldiers to pass the river. The French general having permitted a body of about fifteen thousand to cross, charged them, and entirely cut them off. The inundation of the Raab impeded their companions from coming to their assistance; although the Janizaries and spahis, emulating their ancient bravery, threw themselves into the flood, and struggled to arrive on the hostile banks. The combat was protracted from nine in the morning until

four in the afternoon. The loss of the Turks was computed to be about 30,000 men.

The consequences of this victory might have led to the most decisive advantages in favour of the imperialists; but from circumstances arising out of the frequently perplexing positions of the Austrian emperors, a treaty was concluded highly favourable to the Ottomans; and in this instance, they gained more by a defeat than often was secured by a victory. The interests of Hungary were entirely neglected in the treaty, which excited great discontent, and soon led to a renewal of the war. Kiuperli returned in triumph to Adrianople, and was preparing to direct the Ottoman power to the long protracted siege of Candia, when a danger of another, though not of a new kind, menaced the empire.

A Jewish impostor, named Sabatei Sevi, announced his mission to his countrymen of being the long-expected Messiah; and while he drew crowds of followers to Gaza, another fanatic, the accomplice of Sevi, gave himself out at Jerusalem as the prophet Elias, appearing to testify to the pretended Messiah. The progress of these artful impostors became serious; but Kiuperli, although disdaining to turn aside for the pretensions of obscure fanatics, judged it proper to repress these disorders, which he effected with admirable sagacity and without bloodshed. By employing the skilful weapons of flattery, he persuaded the infatuated Sabatei, that the emperor only awaited his preaching to become a convert, and invited him to repair to the imperial city.

It is surprising that this impostor could have been so easily deluded; but he who begins by imposing on others frequently ends by imposing on himself. Sabatei, however, embarked with twenty of his disciples, and he arrived at Adrianople where the Sultan then was. The progress of Sevi resembled a triumph: crowds prostrated themselves before him, and strewed his path with flowers. But his triumph was of short duration. Being conducted to the presence of the emperor, and having avowed his divine mission, his confidence forsook him before the majesty of the Ottoman throne. Muhammed challenged him to establish his claim by a miracle, which this pretended divinity dared not refuse. The whole of the population of Adrianople had as-

sembled on a great plain to witness the transaction. Sabatei was stripped and tied to a column, while the ichoglaus, with their bows bent, were prepared, at the signal of their master, to direct their arrows to his heart. Sabatei had pretended to be invulnerable; but the dreadful preparation pulled off the flimsy mask; and the impostor, humiliated, terrified, and melted into tears, made a public avowal of having abused the credulity of the people.

Muhammed gave him the usual option of conversion to the law of the Koran, or to be impaled for an impostor. The weakness of Sabatei made him accept the former, and the sect became extinguished. So prone is the human mind to a tendency to be deceived, that the mission of Sabatei was recognised among his countrymen the Jews many years after his decease, and traces of it are said still to be lurking among the Jews of Salonica.

Having allayed the excitement of fanaticism, Achmet Kiuperli pressed forward his immense preparations to terminate the siege of Candia, which had surpassed in duration the celebrated war of Troy. It was in the spring of 1667 that he passed into the island of Candia with a chosen army of 100,000 combatants. The fosse of the city was deep and wide, and the ramparts were strengthened with seven bastions, and the whole circuit protected by the citadel of Demitre. The Grand Vizier took his post before the bastion of Panigra, whilst the Aga of the Janizaries, and the several Pashas, had each a point of attack assigned to them.

The defence of Candia immortalizes the annals of Venice, and its duration and events are as remarkable as they are interesting. The struggle which she maintained against the overwhelming superiority of the Turkish armies, gilds the declining fortunes of the queen of the Adriatic. The mere recital of the memorable incidents of the siege would alone fill a volume. On the one side, we see the entire power of the Ottoman empire collected to take a single town; on the other all the resources of art and valour displayed to avert its fall. The Turks, continually reinforced, often sacrificed a hundred of their soldiers to succeed in slaughtering one Christian; but their courage, perseverance and fanaticism, sustained them in the protracted conflict. The fortifications

appeared to arise day by day from their ruins, notwithstanding that the artillery of the besieged caused terrible havoc. Frequently throwing down their arms in despair, the Turks refused to advance, although urged by promises, menaces and wounds. The natural situation of the place was particularly strong; and the French and Italian volunteers, emulous of glory, continually reinforced the unfortunate garrison. So obstinate was the attack and defence, that it may truly be said, that there was not one foot of ground which was not moistened by the blood of the combatants. If a wall fell by the fire of the batteries, another had arisen behind it; and indeed so many obstacles and losses would have deterred the besiegers, but that they were led by Kiuperli, and possessed to an extraordinary degree, the physical qualities and stubborn obstinacy which distinguish their national character.

It was immediately after the fall of Retimo, that the Turks sat down before Candia. The plague had been introduced into the island by some Turkish reinforcements, and had spread with such rapidity that many of the inhabitants fell before its fury, and others, to escape its ravages, had fled into the Venetian territories on the Continent. Candia was thus in a manner depopulated; scarcely a Greek was to be seen in the open country; for such as had escaped from the pestilence took refuge in the different fortresses; and the Turks themselves had suffered so much both by disease and the sword, that they were compelled to raise the siege in 1649 and retire to Canea. But in the following year they were enabled by the arrival of fresh troops to renew the siege, which they prosecuted with such vigour, that they soon made themselves masters of one of the advanced forts. This being turned against the city, proved so troublesome to the besieged, that they were obliged to blow it up. The Venetians had now, however, got possession of the sea. The Ottoman fleet had been defeated in several engagements, and their supplies were every year intercepted in the straits of the Dardanelles. Depressed by some severe losses and the want of succours, the Turks had converted the siege of Candia into a blockade; while the Venetians, on the other hand, elated by success, attempted the recapture of Canea

in 1660, which, however, when about to surrender, was snatched from their grasp by the appearance of the pasha of Rhodes, who having escaped the Venetian galleys which were stationed to intercept him, but which were becalmed off Cape Spada, reinforced the defenders with 2,000 men. The Turks were now commanded to appear again, before Candia, and to make every effort for its reduction. For six years, however, their efforts were unavailing, and it was not till they had been reinforced by the formidable army under the Grand Vizier, and supported by a numerous artillery that they made any impression upon the Venetian work. A rapid demolition now commenced. All the exterior forts were destroyed; and the walls, battered by incessant discharges of cannon, gave way in all quarters. The Turkish troops, encouraged by the presents and promises of their chiefs, performed prodigies of valour; and during the year 1667, it is recorded that 500 mines were blown up; 18 combats were fought in the underground works, 17 sallies were made by the besieged; 32 times the city was assaulted; and 20,000 Turks and 3,000 Venetians fell in the contest. The Candians, however, though reduced to the most dreadful extremities, were still undismayed, and held out for three years more against all the forces of the Ottoman empire. Succours from France under the Duke Noailles, had animated their hopes. But the first sally of their new allies was discouraging and disastrous, and soon led to the surrender of their city. The command of the forlorn hope had been intrusted to the Duke of Beaufort, admiral of France. He advanced furiously against the enemy, and attacked them within their trenches; but in the midst of the engagement, a magazine of powder was set on fire, when Beaufort and the flower of the French leaders disappeared for ever. The soldiers fled in disorder, and the Duke of Noailles with difficulty effected a safe retreat within the city. The French accused the Venetians of treachery, and prepared to reembark. Their departure determined the fate of Candia, which, after a siege of 24 years, surrendered to the Turks. Of more than 30,000 Christians who had entered this city since the beginning of the siege, 500 only remained, and above 100,000 Ottomans perished

in front of its walls. The Grand Vizier entered Candia on the 4th October 1670. The Candians were honourably treated by the Vizier, who, through fear perhaps of farther assistance being granted by their Christian neighbours to these formidable foes, allowed them to retain the small forts of Sude, Grabusa, and Spina Lonqua, for the purposes of trade only.

Candia, the capital of the island which bears its name, is situated on a beautiful plain, watered by the Ceratus, and is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Heraclea. It received the name of Chandak from the Saracens, who on their first arrival on the island built the fortress of that name, and which was converted by the Venetians into Candia. The city is of a semicircular form, about four miles in circumference, and is strongly fortified by walls, ditches and advanced works. The streets and squares are regular, and well built, and are evidently the work of the Venetians. The many beautiful churches built by the Venetians, are nearly all converted into mosques. The harbour of Candia is naturally a fine basin, securely sheltered from every storm, and if properly cleared might admit forty sail of merchant vessels.


The island of Candia contained at one time upwards of a million of inhabitants. But in 1779, M. Savary reckons them at 350,000. The population of the city of Candia is estimated to be about 14,000.

The glory of the Venetian state was augmented by its disasters, while the Ottoman empire lost its formidable character, not only on account of the destruction of the greater part of its fleet, which never again regained its ascendancy, but also by the time consumed in the siege. A circumstance which indicates the Ottoman policy, was the silence which the Porte observed regarding the infraction of the ancient treaty of alliance and defence, caused by the succours openly afforded to the Venetians under the French flag. In an interview with Kiuperli, the Marquis of Nointel remarked, that "the French are the real friends of Turkey." "The French are our friends," replied the Vizier smiling, "but we always find them with our enemies."

During the period of this siege, the Greeks began to

intermix themselves with the most important matters of the policy and intercourse of Turkey with the Christian powers. Kiuperli had the sagacity to perceive that the hour was past when the Ottoman power could dictate the law of Europe, and he discovered the necessity of managing the interests of her policy more with the refinements of diplomacy, than the fierceness of the Turkish character had hitherto allowed them to adopt. The Greeks, subtle and presuming by nature, plumed themselves upon this source of intrigues as ardently as if it were a renewal of their ancient lustre. For more than two hundred years, the Greeks, bowed under the Ottoman yoke, had devoted themselves to commerce and the mechanical arts, when Achmet Kiuperli bestowed on the Greek Panajotte the office of interpreter, or dragoman, of the Ottoman Porte. This piece of good fortune awakened among the Greeks the natural spirit of intrigue and ambition which has marked them at every period of their history. Hence arose a race of adroit, ambitious, and intellectual men, who by the necessity of employing their talents upon the divan, and by skilful arrangements and submissive compliances, succeeded in the functions of confidential or diplomatic agents. This portion of the Turkish government henceforth became more enlightened, and more ably administered for the true interests of the state.

The siege of Candia had shed a lustre on the arms of Muhammed, and attached new and important tribes to the shadow of his sceptre. The Cossacks, weary of the Polish yoke, threw themselves under the protection of Turkey. The Poles, who regarded themselves as the lords of this active race, resented their crime. The country of the Zaporagian Cossacks, is the vast peninsula formed by the Dniester and Dnieper. It is intersected throughout by marshes and defiles, and presented a most important frontier for either Poland or Turkey. The Sultan, himself, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, passed the Danube near Galatz, in Moldavia, and formed the siege of Kaminiék. After nine days of open trenches the bulwark of Poland surrendered. A German officer, furious at the capitulation, secretly set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up the citadel, together with four thousand Janizaries.



The fall of Kaminiak spread consternation throughout Poland; indeed, so rapid was the progress of the Turkish arms, that within the short space of six weeks, the whole of Podolia submitted. The Tartars ravaged the country, and possessed themselves of vast spoil and eighty thousand captives: but John Sobieski, Grand Marshal of the crown, waylaid their retreat, attacked and defeated them, and recovered a great part of their booty. The King of Poland, terrified at the success of the Turkish arms, signed an ignominious peace, whereby he relinquished the important districts of the Ukraine to the Cossacks, and Podolia to the Turks, consenting also to pay a yearly tribute of twenty-two thousand crowns.

The Poles, enraged at the baseness of the treaty, called out a levy of the entire force of the kingdom, and conferred the command on Sobieski. Muhammed, whose forces were already in part disbanded, hastened to assemble them, and crossing the Danube, he taxed the Poles with perfidy and dissimulation. The two armies met between the Dniester and Danube. The contest was fierce and bloody; but the Waiwodes of Moldavia and Wallachia passing over to the Poles, turned the battle, and the Ottoman troops, betrayed and confounded, sustained a signal defeat. The death of the King of Poland arrested the plans of Sobieski, the presence of himself and his army being necessary at the approaching election of the Polish crown at Warsaw. Meantime the Turks recovered the greatest part of Podolia.

After protracted debates, John Sobieski united the suffrages of the electors, and the crown of Poland was placed on his brow. Sobieski was one of the last illustrious monarchs that filled the throne of Poland. Had the people been worthy of the genius of the sovereign, Poland might still have occupied its place in the map of Europe. To a noble and elevated mind, he united all the virtues and qualities necessary for a great warrior or an accomplished monarch. His court was brilliant, and filled with strangers of rank and distinction. "The spirit of discord and anarchy," says Mr. Coxe, "was laid for a time by his transcendent genius. Under his auspices, Poland seemed to recover from the calamities which had so long oppressed her; and again recover

her ancient splendour : such is the powerful ascendancy of a great and superior mind."


An event which appears to have been little noticed at the time, but the importance of which is felt at the present hour, was the transfer of the allegiance of the Cossacks of the Ukraine to the Russian Czar. The Sultan, enraged at the defection of the Waiwodes, and distrusting the proffers of Christian auxiliaries, rejected the aid which the Hetman offered him ; and to revenge himself of the slight, the Hetman applied to the Czar, who gladly welcomed his suit ; and the Cossacks became henceforth tributaries of the Muscovite emperor. Modern times have beheld these uncultivated natives of the Borysthenes overrunning the finest portions of Europe, and performing in the capacity of light cavalry, the most important services to their emperor.

Sobieski was unable in the first years of his reign to struggle against the numerical superiority of the Turks, and was finally constrained in 1676, to sign a peace which left Podolia and the Ukraine in the possession of the Turks.

In this year the Turks lost their principal support by the death of Achmet Kiuperli, who had held the seals of office for seventeen years. He was the most distinguished of all the prime ministers of the Ottoman Porte, and was the first instance ever seen in Turkey, of a son succeeding his father in the possession of the viziriat.

Through the allegiance of the Cossacks, the Czar of Russia enlarged the limits of the Muscovite empire to the Dniester. The new Vizier endeavoured to regain the friendship of the Cossacks, whose loss was now felt, but his overtures were rejected, and a great part of the force sent to awe them into submission, found a grave in the swamps of the Borysthenes. He was preparing a powerful army to renew the war, when more important interests attracted the Ottoman arms.

Hungary, neglected in the pacification of 1669, was filled with plots and proscriptions, and voluntarily sought the Ottoman yoke. Germany, exhausted by the thirty years' war, lay open to their invasion. Such a combination of circumstances rarely concurred to dazzle and arrest the cupidity and ambition of the Turks. Should Germany yield



to the invaders, Europe, from the borders of the Black sea to the Pillars of Hercules—all the vast regions formerly subject to the Roman eagle, would range under the standard of Muhammed.

The die was cast for war. A general panic pervaded every part; the Pasha of Buda poured his forces upon Hungary: the fortified places were easily taken, and on all sides the imperial troops retired. Meanwhile Cara Mustapha, leading a prodigious army of Ottomans, had passed the Danube; and the Grand Signior, confiding to his hands the sanjak sherif, or banner of the Prophet, himself retired to pursue his favourite pastime of hunting in the woods of Romili. The Vizier was soon joined by Count Jekili with three hundred Hungarian nobles, when a grand council was held upon the proposition of immediately advancing to the walls of Vienna, the route to which lay open. The Vizier, impenetrable in his design, turned aside to lay siege to Javarin, while forty thousand Tartars were let loose to ravage and desolate the frontiers of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. The heavy ordnance followed closely in the rear of the troops; and at the mere rumour of their approach, the Emperor with his court, followed by sixty thousand of the inhabitants, hastily retired from Vienna.

Mustapha broke up the siege of Javarin, and pressed on to Vienna; and in the month of July 1685, he presented himself, at the head of one hundred and eighty thousand men, before the walls of the Austrian capital. Leopold had happily concluded a treaty with Sobieski, and the hopes of Austria rested on this illustrious hero, while the eyes of all were intently fixed on this famous siege, which formed a crisis in the destiny of Europe. The Grand Vizier opened the batteries and pressed the siege with the utmost vigour. Soon the mines that had been sprung, and the incessant firing of the artillery, levelled whole squares of the walls, and the body of the fortification was laid open. Courageous as was the defence, Vienna tottered on the brink of destruction. A general assault could not fail to be decisive, when, to the amazement of Europe, the vizier strangely relaxed in his operations, and a few important days prepared a reverse, and overwhelmed the Ottoman empire in a series of disasters from

which it has never recovered its pristine lustre. Whatever might have been the motive of Mustapha; whether his ambition was gratified by his success, or whether his avarice was awakened at the prospect of the treasures contained in the imperial city, and was loth to leave so rich a prey to the plunder of his followers; or whether by some temporary aberration of mind, he did not perceive the precise moment to have acted with sufficient energy against the city, it is nevertheless sufficiently evident that he weakened his army, and broke the spirits of the Janizaries by trifling and ineffectual attacks, and their indignation was followed by a general discouragement. Famine and disease visited the Turkish camp, and added to the discontent of the troops, while the besieged took courage, repaired their walls, and assured the present safety of Vienna. The mistakes of Mustapha increased every hour; he made no effort to retard the junction of the imperialists with the Polish army, led on by Sobieski; nothing could persuade his rash spirit that the Christians would come to seek and to combat him. Three blazing fires appeared at night on the Calembourg, which announced to the inhabitants that their deliverers were at hand. Sixty-five thousand combatants, among whom the superb Polish cavalry were distinguishable, led on by three sovereigns and twenty-three German princes, descended from the mountains like a torrent under the orders of the King of Poland. The scene which followed cannot be described; but it most strikingly illustrates the points of the Turkish martial character, which, if led on while excited and filled with the hope of plunder, and under the spell of their predestination notions, is fierce as the instinct of the tiger, and equally dangerous; but when this violent state of delirium is checked or impelled by disasters to exercise its fatalism upon the probability of a destined reverse, the discouragement at once becomes universal and their ruin is completed. Mustapha, indeed, drew out his forces to meet his opponents; but their resistance did not become a battle. A few discharges of cannon threw them into disorder. The whole army, deaf to Mustapha's cries and prayers, turned their backs and fled. The Vizier seized the sacred banner of the Prophet, and hastened his flight after the scattered remnants of his once powerful army.

Sobieski, amazed at his success, suspected some snare, and encamped on the field of battle. The next morning confirmed the total rout of the Ottoman forces. The conquerors took possession of the camp, the spoil of which was immense.

The house of Austria may date its consolidated greatness from this hour. The kingdom of Hungary, entire in all its provinces, teeming with a noble and martial population, became, together with Transylvania, henceforth hereditarily annexed to its vast possessions.

In a few weeks the Ottoman empire was stripped of the acquisitions which, during a century and a half, had cost such torrents of blood. The panic-struck troops continued their flight for fifty hours, without receiving nourishment, and they halted on the banks of the Raab. The Grand Vizier, sombre, disquieted and severe, sought to turn the dangers of his position on his followers, by the execution of several of the Pashas whom he dreaded. Defeat, however, followed defeat, until scarcely a Turkish detachment could be made to stand to arms.

Mustapha arrived at Belgrade, and was condemned to death. He submitted without a murmur, and he put the bow-string round his neck with his own hand. It is impossible not to regard but with astonishment, the contrast exhibited in the life and death of this ambitious Mussulman, or the singular and respectful obedience testified to the sanguinary mandate. Mustapha was a brave and faithful supporter of the Ottoman throne; his courage was unquestionable; his military talents, although, perhaps, not of the first order, were at least respectable, and not second to any commander of his day. But his conduct before Vienna evinced not only a want of vigour, but he failed in that vigilance and foresight so essentially necessary in a commander, and the want of which involved in a great measure his army in destruction. Whether ulterior designs of a personal character were at the root of his faults, or whether blinded by some temporary hallucination of mind, at this great crisis, it seems impossible to determine.

All the enemies of the Ottoman Porte now united to profit by her adversity. The Venetians at once declared

war, and they soon gained signal success in Dalmatia, in the Ionian islands and in the Morea. In Hungary the Ottomans were equally unfortunate. Buda, the capital, passed finally under the sceptre of Austria, on the 22d August, 1686, after having been held by the Turks for a century and a quarter. A triple alliance, now formed between the emperor, the Polish king and the Czar of Moscow, added Peter the Great to the list of the enemies, and menaced the Porte with severe misfortunes. A gleam of success, however, gilded the Ottoman arms. A victory was gained over Sobieski, who having invaded Moldavia, was compelled to pass the Pruth.

Muhammed, submitting to necessity, solicited a peace with Leopold, who required as its price the payment of six millions of gold, the surrender of Hungary, and full satisfaction to his allies. Such demands were as absolute insults to Ottoman pride; and without making even a reply, the Grand Vizier opened the campaign by becoming the assailant. The imperialists passed the Drave, whom the Ottomans followed; and it was on the plains of Mohatz, the scene of the defeat and death of King Louis II., that the destinies of Hungary were again decided. The Turks were completely routed; they abandoned their tents, their cannon, their baggage, their stores—everything to ensure a safe retreat to the Danube; and the Grand Vizier could scarcely rally his army at Belgrade.

Thus, all the vast conquests of the Ottomans, westward of the Danube, were lost in the short space of four years, with the solitary exception of the city of Agria. The Vizier having commanded a division of the Spahis and Janizaries to carry provisions and supplies thither, they refused: he reiterated the order—they became more furious: first they demanded a gratuity, then the dismissal of the Vizier, at length the deposition of the Sultan. Soliman fled, and himself bore to his master the heavy tidings of the rebellion of his troops. The terrified Sultan thought to pacify the insurgents with the death of Soliman and other faithful servants, whose heads were presented, according to the Turkish custom, to the rebels. But the reign of the unhappy Muhammed was at an end. He was conducted to a

solitary part of the Seraglio, where he dragged out four years of grief and confinement.

The siege of Vienna forms one of the most memorable events in the history of Turkey; and no event in the Ottoman annals struck such terror throughout Christendom. But even if Vienna had fallen a prey to Mustapha, he could in no degree have drawn after it the consequences that must have followed such an event, in the reigns of Mahomet II. or Soliman the Great. The Tartars and Janizaries, no doubt, would have spread terror and desolation over Bohemia, Moravia, and the countries which they traversed; but the warlike population of Germany, the natural advantages of its mountains and passes, would have rendered an advance highly dangerous if not impracticable. The events, however, which did take place, broke for ever the spell of Turkish ascendancy, and on the contrary taught the Ottoman Porte the humiliating lesson of concession and submission.

SOLIMAN II.,

Who preferred a life of austerity and devotion, to the cares of royalty, contrary to his inclination, ascended the Ottoman throne. He spent the greater part of his time in studying the Koran; and had he not been a fanatic, he might have passed for a philosopher, "for," said he, "rather than the grandeur of this world, I prefer to search after eternal truth." Such a monarch was evidently unfit to stem the tide of misfortune which had set in against the Ottoman empire, to satisfy an infuriated soldiery, or allay the discontent of the populace. Instead of adopting the vigorous and energetic measures which had so often prevailed with his predecessors in restoring tranquillity to the state, Soliman endeavoured to avert the calamities which threatened him by public prayers and rigorous fasts. These novel means did not pacify either the soldiers or the people; nor did they stop the advance of the enemy. The Germans took Belgrade by assault. The Sultan was compelled to sue for peace, but the demands of the allies were too humbling to be complied

with. Another campaign was therefore resolved upon, and Soliman announced his intention of taking the field in person. He proceeded as far as Sophia; but alarmed by the new successes of the enemy, he deputed the command to Ragib Pacha, who even surpassed his master in credulity and superstition. How prone soever the human mind may be to superstitious feeling and belief, yet no weakness with which a monarch or a statesman can be afflicted is more dangerous or contemptible. This commander allowed his councils to be directed by the ravings of an astrologer, who continually promised him victory. Such is the ascendancy that those wretches acquire over weak and credulous minds, that they appear to their victims to hold the power of good and evil; and they never fail but to direct either the one or the other, according as their cupidity or passions may prompt them. The army of Ragib Pasha, as might have been expected, was routed by the Prince of Baden on the banks of the Morawa; the remains of it cut to pieces on the field of Nissa; and the conqueror advanced to the neighbourhood of Sophia. The Porte was about to yield to the degrading conditions of the conqueror, when Mustapha, the son of the renowned Achmet Kiuperli, saved the honour of the Ottoman throne, and restored a transient lustre to the arms of Turkey. Mustapha was well qualified to perform the difficult duties that devolved upon him. Firm, judicious and severe, he renovated the powers of the state; and the drooping courage of the army was revived by their confidence in his military skill. Kiuperli commenced his career of victory by the reduction of Nissa. Belgrade, with the strong fortress of Lippa and Arsova, yielded to his valour; and he returned in triumph to Adrianople to be welcomed by his grateful sovereign.

The success of Kiuperli furnishes another, amongst the many illustrations of what the Turks are capable of achieving, when led by a skilful general and ruled with wisdom and firmness. Although no people, perhaps, in the world, sink more rapidly under disaster than the Turks; yet there is no nation that equals them in that elastic power of rising at once, when properly directed, from defeat and disgrace, to victory and military greatness.

A lingering dropsy was hastening Soliman to the grave, and it was expected that the infant son of Muhammed IV. would be called to the throne; but Kiuperli had decided that Achmet, the eldest brother of his master, should succeed him. Soliman expired in the spring of 1691, after a reign of three years and nine months. He was austere, sober, religious, and devoted to the study of the Koran, but he possessed none of those qualities which render a sovereign either useful or worthy of respect. He had the good sense to select Kiuperli, who thought and acted for him; and the reign of Soliman was thereby far from being the least glorious of his race.

The coinage of this prince presents the first specimen of the silver coins being adulterated with a large proportion of zinc. It has been observed that the workmanship is admirable; and it is a matter of surprise how much the pieces of all descriptions resemble each other, in point of execution, from this down to the most modern period.

ACHMET II.

Conformable to the directions of Mustapha Kiuperli, the younger brother of Muhammed ascended the throne under the name of Achmet II. The same inactivity, ignorance, and credulity which has been remarked in Soliman, characterised this Sultan; but the resources of the empire were in the hands of Kiuperli. The standard of the Prophet now attracted more soldiers than Kiuperli chose to retain; and the army assembled under the walls of Adrianople, became so numerous that the Vizier forbade the Asiatic Pashas from forwarding levies. Kiuperli was now the idol of the army, but the courtiers of Achmet were jealous of his power; and while the interests of the Ottoman empire depended on him alone, an intrigue near the throne, laid a snare for the life of the Vizier. The Kislar-aga, eunuchs, and the officers of the Seraglio, combined together to prejudice the mind of the weak and credulous Achmet, and calumny coloured their base insinuations, by urging as a crime the attachment of the troops to their brave leader,

whom they gravely accused of intending to proclaim Mustapha, son of Muhammed, as Sultan, as soon as the camp at Adrianople should be broken up. The weak mind of Achmet was incapable of discerning the falsehood of the report; and his stupidity sanctioned, with brutish indifference, the order for summoning the Grand Vizier to attend at the palace where the mutes were prepared to subject him to the bowstring, instantly as he passed the fatal door.

It chanced for the safety of Turkey, that when Kislar-aga was employing all his subtilty to stimulate his master to direct the treacherous act, a mute named Dilrig, was in attendance on the Emperor, whose office it was to lift up the curtains of the presence chamber. This mute, during an earnest conference, had the curiosity to lift up the draperies concealing the antichamber, when he beheld the mutes of death; and by the quickness of his apprehension, he instantly apprehended from their gestures and lips, that they waited the signal to inflict the penalty of death on the Vizier-Azem. Whether actuated by pity, interest, or gratitude, is not recorded; but the alarmed mute ran off at full speed to the palace of the Vizier, and succeeded in conveying to him by signs, the intimation of his danger, and the authors of it. Scarcely had he made this important revelation to Kiuperli, ere the Kiaia of the Bastangi Bashi appeared to summon him to the Seraglio. The Grand Vizier calmly and collectedly ordered, in the sight of the officer, his horses to be prepared, and, without manifesting the slightest discomposure, directed the Kiaia to announce his speedy obedience; but no sooner had the Seraglio officer left his presence, than he summoned thither the Aga of the Janizaries, and the commanders of their odas, all of whom were wholly devoted to him. A few words sufficed to explain the peril of his situation; and Kiuperli declared his determination by break of day to leave the state in its present danger, to remit the seal to the Emperor, and instantly to go on the sacred hadj, conjuring the officers to defend the country until death against the Giours. Such an address could not fail to rouse to violence a class of troops rarely furnished with so excusable a pretext to revolt. All of them swore to shed their blood in his defence; and the

instantaneous excitement which pervaded the capital assured the Vizier of his influence and his safety.

Kiuperli, dignified and sagacious, limited his resentment to instructing the Sultan by a message that as he had mounted his horse, an insurrectionary movement of the soldiers had broke out, which detained him, and that their anger was directed against some abject enemies about his person. On the morrow, a second message announced to the Sultan, that the army were not to be appeased without the banishment of Kislar-aga, and the death of his secretary. The Kislar-aga, who instantly comprehended that his plot was discovered, hastened to escape. He besought the Sultan forthwith to dismiss him to Cairo, whither he retired instantly with his treasures, while the unfortunate secretary, dragged to the camp, was hung summarily with his cord of office; and the Vizier, more firmly seated in his post than ever, broke up the camp at Adrianople, and proceeded to open the campaign of 1691. Kiuperli reached Belgrade at the head of a hundred thousand men, who under his command believed themselves to be invincible. Prince Louis of Baden lay at Peterwaradin, with an army of sixty-six thousand. The Grand Vizier marching on his line, resolved to give battle or to drive the Prince back on Buda. It was midway, at Salenkemen in Esclavonia, a ruined castle on the banks of the Danube, near the embouchure of the Theiss, that the important conflict took place. The Ottomans, under the favour of the night, gained a march on the imperialists, by crossing their line at the distance of half a league, and cutting them off at one blow from all their magazines; they then fortified their position by cannon and redoubts. This skilful and rapid manœuvre was far above the general tactics of the Ottomans, and the consequences were nearly disastrous to the imperial army. A convoy of two hundred and fifty chariots, despatched from Peterwaradin, to the old position of the army, were intercepted; and a reinforcement of five thousand men were descried as they were issuing from the forest, without any order or suspicion of danger; the whole corps, charged on all sides, had not even the power of forming, and were all killed or taken prisoners. The situation of the imperial army was critical in the highest

degree. Their communications with Peterwaradin were cut off, and they were without magazines; their only resource or means of safety lay in breaking the lines of a powerful army entrenched behind a deep fosse, and sustained in rear and left by the Danube. The valour of the Germans, and their confidence in their leader, inspired them with a noble despair: the artillery of the enemy mowed down their ranks as they pressed forward to the works, and night separated the combatants. The left wing of the imperialists was more successful. The Ottomans leaving the cover of their entrenchments to pursue, endeavoured to take them in flank; this dangerous manœuvre laid them open to the Prince of Baden, who at length forced the way to the Turkish position where the cannon were placed. The soldiers of Kiuperli, in their turn began to give way; and the Grand Vizier, indignant to see a victory already gained thus escape him, advanced at the head of his reserve, and charging the enemy at the head of the Janizaries, had regained the aspect of the day, when a musket ball struck the heroic Ottoman, and he expired without a sigh. Instantly the warlike music of the Tabul Khani, which always precedes the Vizier, and continues to be heard amid the most furious attacks, ceased to beat; its silence proved to both armies the death of Kiuperli. The imperialists redoubled their efforts and multiplied their attacks; a sudden terror seized the Turkish forces, who abandoning their ranks, the rout became so general, that none thought but of flight, and twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom were six thousand Janizaries, were slain or drowned in the Danube. A hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, ten thousand tents, and superior to all, the splendid pavilion of the Vizier, with the treasures and stores of the whole Ottoman army, became the prey of the victors; the glory of the Prince of Baden was carried to the highest pitch; and these magnificent trophies are still exhibited in the palace of Carlsruhe.

The immense loss of the imperialists precluded any further progress than the siege of Peterwaradin. The death of Kiuperli was more irreparable to the Sultan than the loss of an army. This illustrious Vizier blended the abilities of his grandfather Mehemet with the courage and generosity

of Achmet his father. The soldiers admired his intrepidity, his warlike talent, and success ; and a death of glory crowned a life of honour.

The interests of Turkey and Vienna equally needed repose, but the politics of France succeeded in perpetuating the war, which, however, was not attended with any important results.

Amid the misfortunes of 1696, may be considered the rebellion of the Arab tribes. Achmet, unable to conquer, was glad to compound with the Great Sheik of the Desert, by an offer of forty thousand piastres yearly. Achmet died soon after the beginning of the year, which had commenced with this inauspicious omen.

Cantimar describes Achmet to have been a prince of ordinary stature, with a great belly, produced by a dropsical habit rather than by corpulency ; of a pale complexion, with large black eyes, and his nose long and straight. His character appears in his reign ; born without talents, he never acquired any ; and he was the dupe of the eunuchs and the Ulema throughout his reign.

MUSTAPHA II.,

The second brother of Achmet, ascended the throne. He was thirty-five years of age ; and although he had been kept shut up in the Seraglio, his character had become powerful and vigorous. Nature had improved all his personal graces ; and when on the second day after his accession he was seen surrounded with imperial pomp, traversing the streets of Adrianople, proceeding to the Mosque of Selim II., the Janizaries, ranked in double files, could not cease to admire his striking gait, the fire of his eye, the majesty and dignity expressed in his visage, and the grace with which he saluted the spectators as he passed. They hailed his announced intention of continuing the war, and of leading them to battle, and the Janizaries heard, even without murmurs, that the usual gratuity would be withheld. "My treasure is empty," said Mustapha, "I have need of gold ; and I shall employ it to defend my empire and to repulse my enemies."

The first measures of Mustapha were marked by intelligence, sagacity, and perseverance; and his discernment seems to have equalled his activity and energy. After having attended to the internal affairs of the empire, he passed the Danube at the head of fifty thousand men, and carried Lippha by assault. The celebrated Frederick Augustus commanded the imperialists, but they were much inferior in numbers to the Turks. The Ottoman army was victorious, but so dear bought was the victory, that they were unable to pursue the enemy, and to disguise the appearance of weakness, the Mufti was instructed to issue a *festa*, declaring that "it is contrary to the Koran to pursue a vanquished enemy."

The Russians now began to demonstrate their increasing power. Peter Alexiowitz already gave proof of the genius which distinguished him, and he began to alarm the Turks in an entirely new quarter. He commenced the siege of Azoph, but the efforts of the Tartars compelled him to retire.

Mustapha thought to signalise himself in the campaign of 1696, but the Elector of Saxony, anticipating his movements, opened the war by the siege of Temeswar. The imperialists were at first successful; but in an attack on the Ottoman camp, they got entangled and bewildered amid the cordage and net-work of the pavilions, and were repulsed and driven back. The imperialists retreated with the loss of all their cannon. Mustapha resolved to visit his capital, and he entered Constantinople in triumph.

The treaty of Ryswick which had been signed between Leopold and Louis XIV., released the emperor from his formidable enemy on the Rhine; and the ministers of England and Holland had not failed to urge the Sultan to consolidate his success by a peace. Vaunting of being in a state to repulse all the German armies, Mustapha resolved to risk another campaign.

He left Belgrade in the spring of 1697, at the head of a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, which soon found themselves before their enemies, which did not, however, amount to a half of their number; but they were led by Prince Eugene. The Sultan seemed wavering in his designs, and after a variety of marches and counter-marches was attacked at Zenta, in a most unfavourable position, and the

army was totally routed. Thirty thousand men, the Grand Vizier, and fifteen Pashas of the highest rank, were lost in this disastrous field. The Sultan, terrified and dismayed, exchanged his robes and fled in disguise. The remnant of the army retired in confusion upon Temeswar, leaving Prince Eugene the immense riches contained in the camp, with their artillery and stores. It was two days ere Mustapha had sufficiently recovered from the shock of the dreadful battle of Zenta to exhibit himself to the mournful relics of his once brilliant army. This fatal conflict, Mustapha perceived, would be the deathblow to the confidence and respect of which he had hitherto been the object: and with a heart suffering under grief, humiliation, and despair, he resolved to solicit peace. Circumstances were favourable for his purpose, as Leopold already beheld the germs of a new war in the succession of the King of Spain. After two months of protracted dissensions the peace of Carlowitz put an end to this destructive war. Leopold acquired Hungary, Transylvania, and Esclavonia; Peter I. retained Azoph; the Poles had Podolia, the Ukraine, and Kaminiek guaranteed to them; the Venetians retained the Morea, with a strong frontier in Dalmatia.

The treaty of Carlowitz was the preservation of the Ottoman empire, while its inconstant and ignorant subjects did nothing but murmur against its conditions; nor was the storm laid while secretly hostile preparations were being carried on by the Czar of Muscovy.

The Khan of the Tartars who resided on the confines of the empire, informed the Porte by message upon message, that Russia was arming by sea and land, that her troops, which were strongly reinforced, were acquiring the European tactics; and that forts were erected along the line of the Borysthenes. Mustapha, sombre, disquieted, and disgusted with war, left Adrianople for his capital, to appease the rising discontent; and to punish the criminal concealment of the Russian preparations, he sacrificed the Grand Vizier.

A rebellion of the Janizaries, the Ulema, and the Mufti, terminated the reign of Mustapha. He resigned the throne in favour of his brother Achmet, in August 1702.

No prince could have been placed in more difficult circumstances than Mustapha; and whatever may have been his faults, whether he was deficient in military talents, or whether his ambition for military glory hurried him into war, when he might have concluded an honourable peace, he nevertheless struggled manfully to avert the dangers of the empire; and the Ottoman state was indebted to the fallen Sultan for the safety of the empire in the peace of Carlowitz.

ACHMET III.

The annals of the Ottoman house appear to represent a different race, as we pass from the time of Mahomet II., of Selim, and of Soliman, to the era of their enervated and imbecile successors. The scenes of disorder, indeed, arising from the ambitious contentions of the Ottoman princes, were by the great Soliman made the causes of confining them in the Seraglio, and consequently they were brought up in a state of ignorance and sensuality. A greater mistake, perhaps, was never committed. Solely conversing with and surrounded by fawning eunuchs, the Ottoman princes lived without action or education, until a dreary or monotonous confinement was terminated by a sepulchre or a throne. Totally unacquainted with mankind, and indeed with themselves, it is surprising to find some of the successors of the great Ottoman princes exhibiting, at times, many qualities scarcely compatible with a life of solitude and sensuality. The puppet of the Sultan, or of the Janizaries, or of the crafty Ulema, generally passed from the confinement of the harem to the imperial seat, in such a state of ignorance, as not to be able to see with his own eyes, far less to act upon the disinterested judgment of another; indeed, he ascended the throne to be directed by ambitious ministers, influenced according to the various incidents which are ever revolving in such a dangerous element as the capricious spirit of the soldiery, or the sordid ambition of the teachers of religion.

Eight Sultans had successively filled the throne from the accession of Mustapha I., in 1622, to that of Achmet III. in

1702, stretching over a period of eighty years, during which the internal condition of the state presented a scene of revolt and disorder. Of these eight sovereigns, five had been deposed, and three of the five murdered by the soldiery. The Janizaries murmured against the mandates of the Sultan; his views of government and discipline they invariably resisted; and that protection which they ought to have afforded to the state and to their sovereign, was converted into a source of danger and degradation. An army thus constituted—a military force publicly coalescing with a turbulent populace, and rejecting every species of improvement either social or political, could only effect a relaxation of legitimate authority, a deterioration of national prosperity, and an accelerated progress in the career of national misfortune and decay.

Achmet III. was thirty-six years of age when he succeeded to the throne. He had learned at least one lesson in the confinement of the Seraglio; for he was not long in exhibiting the talent of dissimulation. Elevated to the imperial seat by his instructors, he lavished his favours on the rebels—his own benefactors—while he revolved how to repress their dangerous turbulency. The first victim was the instigator of the revolt. Seduced by the blandishments of the Sultan, Caracash Mehemet was persuaded to be the bearer of the usual imperial present to the Sheriff of Mecca, upon the commencement of a new reign. His route was honoured by every demonstration of respect; but it ended at Aleppo, as he retraced his steps homeward, for there the Pasha was instructed to take his life. The Aga of the Janizaries, a few days after his elevation, was cast from his splendid cabin at midnight, into the waters of the Bosphorus. Selietar Assan had become the secret counsellor of the cruelties of Achmet; and the Sultan bestowed on him the hand of one of his sisters, as a proof how fully he confided in his zeal. Assan soon spread throughout Asia the whole band of Janizaries who had been concerned in the revolt of 1702; and the new levies, ignorant of the fault of their predecessors, were unconcerned at their punishments. Fourteen thousand Janizaries dispersed over Anatolia, were thus secretly cut off without any public alarm: and a multitude of officers

and Pashas experienced the same fate. Assan having fulfilled the views of Achmet, was himself an object of distrust, and before a year had passed by he was sent as Pasha to Cairo.

The Grand Vizier who succeeded Assan had been called for, in some measure, by the public voice ; but Calaili committed such egregious acts of arrogance and folly, that the very populace were ashamed of their idol : and in three months, they beheld with joy his banishment to the island of Cos. The only recommendation to popular favour which he seems to have possessed, was a blind and intolerant hatred to the Christians. He was succeeded by Baltadgi Mehmet Pasha, a page of Achmet's before his election to the throne. Baltadgi owed his advancement to a singular circumstance.

Achmet, previous to his accession to the throne, had been permitted a limited freedom within the walls of the Seraglio ; and the prince had beheld one day a fair Circassian, with whom he became violently enamoured. Her name was Sarai, attached to the mother of the reigning Sultan and Achmet his brother. The Sultana Valide perceiving the attachment of Achmet to Sarai, sent for her physician, to whom she made a merit of espousing her favourite to his son ; and the beautiful Circassian was, on the same evening, conducted to her husband's mansion. The ceremonies, through the menaces of Achmet, preserved Sarai, most scrupulously for future events. Scarcely had Achmet mounted the throne when his love revived, and the physician was dragged before the Sultan, and ordered to execution. He, however, with difficulty obtained a hearing, and his dangers and disgrace were succeeded by riches and advancement. Achmet meditated the reception of Sarai into the imperial palace ; but the laws of that sacred enclosure were jealously watched over by the Sultana Valide, and even Achmet found that he dared not insist on the violation of them. Baltadgi, the husband of Sarai, willingly sacrificed his rights to Sarai, in favour of his master, whereupon he was named grand huntsman. The Ottoman court exhibited, therefore, the extraordinary spectacle of the lord of three hundred females leaving his own palace to resort to

the roof of his subject, under which the master of the Ottoman throne was captivated by the charms, and devoted to the attractions, of a single woman. Sarai procured Mehemet Baltadgi to be appointed Grand Vizier, and she ruled alike the Sultan and his minister. The crisis, however, demanded other counsel than that of a woman. Of all the European empires, the Ottoman state alone remained in profound peace.

A general war pervaded all the Christian communities; the houses of Austria and of Bourbon contested sword in hand the Spanish succession; England and Holland mixed themselves in the struggle, and assailed the monarchy of France. Amid these conflicting elements the French courted the Turks to place their weight in the scale against Germany. Hungary was indeed open to assault. Count Tekeli, it is true, was dead, but his son-in-law, Ragotski, inherited his pretensions, and his hatred of the house of Austria, and his party was numerous in Transylvania. Previous disasters, however, had warned Achmet to avoid the dangers of a new war, and he beheld with pleasure his natural enemies in their interminable dissensions, wasting their strength against each other.

An event, about this period, of great interest to the Ottoman court, arose from a source almost unknown to its counsellors and politicians. They may have known the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus by name, but they were, in general, ignorant of Sweden and of its geographical position. The Swedes became embroiled with Russia, and Charles the Twelfth commenced his wonderful career. He first deposed the steady enemy of the Ottoman empire, Frederick Augustus, King of Poland, stripped the crown of the Jagellons from his brows to place it on the head of Stanislaus Lecziusky. Following up his successes against Peter I. of Russia, called Peter the Great, the King of Sweden was seduced by the councils of the Hetman Mazeppa, to make an irruption into the Ukraine. Here he did more than is almost ever given to the limited powers of man to accomplish. The Swedish monarch appears to have been alike inaccessible to fear, to famine, or danger. But if he triumphed over natural obstacles, he had to contend with a genius as powerful as

his own, a mind of equal grandeur of purpose, equally persevering, and perhaps more wise and sagacious. Unchanged by disaster or discouraging circumstances, Peter drew inexhaustible resources from his own firmness, and at length accomplished the total defeat of his powerful adversary at Poltava. Wounded, conquered, forced to fly, but always filled with confidence, hope, and pride, Charles sought protection in the Ottoman dominions, and he fixed his residence at Bender, a city of Bessarabia. The Ottoman court must have been inclined to observe with pleasure the successes of Charles; but the decisive battle of Poltava, influenced the Porte to the strict observance of the treaty of Carlowitz. Charles doubted not but that he should succeed in exciting a war between the Turks and Peter, which might restore to him his lost triumphs; and he kept at Constantinople, both public and private agents who sought by every means to hasten a rupture.

Baltadgi was dismissed from the viziriat to an honourable exile at Aleppo. Tchourluli Ali succeeded him, who declared to the agent of the Swedish monarch, "I will take your King in one hand and my scimitar in the other, and I will myself conduct him to Moscow, at the head of two hundred thousand men." But that memorable yet ever perilous exploit was reserved for very different times, and for a genius to effect it far transcending that of any modern conqueror; yet the march of Napoleon upon Moscow was no less fatal to that mighty chief than the disasters of Poltava to the heroic Charles XII. This madman, Tchourluli, however, soon became so attached to the interests of Peter, that he would have given up Mazeppa to the vindictive revenge of the Czar, had Mazeppa not been relieved by death from the fury of his enemies.

Achmet, who was ignorant of the state of foreign politics, was by accident presented with a paper, while on his way to the church of St. Sophia, which opened his eyes to the position of Charles and the intrigues of Peter. The Vizier was dismissed, and he was succeeded by Kiuperli, a grandson of the conqueror of Candia. A secret correspondence had been kept up between Peter and the Montenegrins who were spread throughout Epirus and Thessaly; and the mere idea

of a union betwixt the interests of the Greek states and the Muscovites, already united by their national faith, was sufficient to alarm a less sensitive race than the Ottomans.

An accidental circumstance contributed to inflame the public spirit, and to direct it against the Russian empire.

Peter, desirous to prolong the truce, despatched an embassy to Constantinople, and his envoy was escorted by several ships of war. A Russian squadron thus navigating the Bosphorus and passing into the waters of the Propontis—casting anchor even before the walls of the Seraglio—presented the appearance of a hostile fleet approaching the capital, from a sea hitherto considered as exclusively Ottoman, wounded the pride and excited the fanaticism of the whole Turkish population.

The Vizier was sent for, and Achmet demanded to know the cause of the appearance of the Russian fleet; and Kiuperli quitted his master's presence to interrogate the Russian envoy. "Whence all these vessels," he asked, "if the prince be at peace with the Sublime Porte? The Euxine is a sea without a strait, for the Bosphorus is not open to you." The excuse of the Russian envoy was disregarded, for the Turks secretly inclined to war, which was declared between the two empires, and the Russian ambassador, according to custom, was conveyed to the Seven Towers. The Khan of Tartary received orders to march with his predatory hordes, while the Vizier assembled in the plains of Adrianople two hundred thousand men.

The events of 1711 on the banks of the Pruth, offer many points of interest which bear on the numerous campaigns since carried on by the Russians on the northern frontier of the Ottoman empire. The Turks have ever felt comparatively at ease regarding the consequences of any hostile advance on this quarter; and they have been taught by experience to rest the chief defence of the empire upon the line of the Danube, and especially upon the mountain barrier of the Balkan. With this view they have nationalized a system of defensive warfare, particularly calculated to exhaust, if not ultimately to defeat, their adversary. Peter committed precisely a similar mistake with that of his imprudent rival, Charles XII., by compromising the safety of his army in

advancing through a wasted country without magazines. He passed the river Pruth about the middle of July, at the head of one hundred thousand men, sixty thousand of whom were the veterans disciplined in the Swedish war. Peter had planned to take possession of the Turkish magazines which had been formed on the banks of the river Sereth, a stream flowing parallel to the Pruth on the west. One portion of the cavalry under General Rems, posted themselves in the thick forests which separate the two rivers ; while the remaining cavalry, commanded by General James, formed the advanced guard, and preceded the army about twelve miles. Hastily crediting a report that the Ottoman forces had passed the river Pruth, the Czar commanded James to fall back. The advance of the Turks, therefore, divided the forces of General Rems, as yet on the right bank of the Pruth ; and after many bloody skirmishes the Russian army, which had approximated gradually to the river, took up a strong position on the Pruth ; they were closely followed by the Ottoman army who, in forty-eight hours, succeeded in intrenching themselves and hemming in the Russians on all sides, so that the enemy's camp resembled a besieged city. Thus deplorably situated, with a deep river in rear, and a watchful enemy in front, the army of the Czar became destitute of supplies, and were delivered over to the accumulated sufferings of hunger and thirst : powerful batteries erected on the right bank, swept the river and intercepted the use of its stream for the supply of the Russian army. There was no escape for the Czar, otherwise than to open a retreat sword in hand through an intrenched camp, defended by a numerous army, or to choose the deplorable alternative of submitting to his implacable enemy. Such a humiliating condition did not suit the indomitable will of Peter, and he chose the former, and prepared to make a general attack at break of day ; and he desired to be left along during the remainder of the night. Assailed at intervals by those violent paroxysms which he had suffered from his youth, and a prey to the deepest despondency, his solitude was, at midnight, broken in upon by a female who manifested in this crisis of his fate, how truly the weaker sex can often impart to man that strength and resolution which,

in certain circumstances, has been denied to his stronger nerves and fiercer spirit. Such cheering aid flowed into the distracted mind of Peter while he listened to the timely counsels of the Empress Catherine, formerly an obscure peasant of Livonia. Far from deeming all to be lost, she urged the Czar to profit by the few hours intervening before the dawn, to present to the Vizier Baltadgi a project of pacification which should embrace every object of security and satisfaction to the Ottoman state.

The preliminaries of a treaty of peace were hastily sketched, and Catherine carried the document to the Vizier, accompanied by a propitiatory present of her jewels and gold, together with all that could be collected among the chiefs of the forces. Peter impatiently waiting till the break of day without receiving a reply, drew up his army in readiness for a general attack. The troops had been put in motion when a messenger arrived from the Ottoman camp, consenting to a suspension of arms. The vice-chancellor of Russia presented himself forthwith at the pavilion of Mehemet Baltadgi, and the chancellor was prepared to agree to everything but a surrender of national honour; the terms were instantly proposed, agreed to, and signed. Azoph was to return to the dominion of Turkey, the port of Taganrog was to be demolished, and the frontiers of the Ottoman Porte enlarged and strengthened. Peter seized the first moment to withdraw his troops from their dangerous position, and to pass the river Pruth, so that his army might be out of the reach of danger in case of any change of sentiment. Events soon proved the incalculable importance of his promptitude. The last division was yet on the right bank, and preparing to follow, when his implacable enemy Charles XII., entered the Turkish encampment, intending to have the opportunity of gratifying himself with witnessing the ruin and downfall of his enemy. Thus was exhibited on the banks of the Pruth, Peter the Great commanding his army with heartfelt exultation finding that he had escaped from the snare into which he had fallen, and was now apparently master of his own destiny. Within a few hundred paces, stood the undaunted and furious Swede almost unable to credit his senses, that the Turks could have suffered

their enemy to escape from inevitable destruction. The lofty apathy which the Ottoman Vizier displayed in the interview which followed, completes the characteristic portraiture of these extraordinary personages which this memorable scene disclosed. Charles, too late convinced of the importance of himself accompanying the army at the opening of the campaign, and overwhelmed with the keenest anguish, rushed to the pavilion of the Vizier to pour forth his severest reproaches. "How should you have dared," said Charles to the Grand Vizier, "to have signed a peace without first asking my sanction, for whose interests the war had been begun?" The Vizier coolly replied, "that his sublime Emperor had ordered him to combat for the interests of the Ottoman empire." "Thou hadst the power of taking the Czar and all his army prisoners," replied the infuriated King, "and of leading them captives in fetters to Constantinople." "If I had taken the Czar," replied Mehemet, with a disdainful smile, "who then would have governed his state in his absence?" Charles, dumb with rage, and quite beside himself, stretched forth his leg from the sumptuous couch upon which he had flung himself, and hitching his spur into the splendid robes of the Vizier, deliberately tore the garment. The Mussulman had too much self-control to notice an insult which he disdained to resent, and the King, with despair in his heart, instantly mounted his horse, and returned to his residence at Bender.

It would be erroneous from all that is known to attribute the pusillanimity of the Turkish commander, on this occasion, to dishonourable motives. It may rather be ascribed to his want of ability as a military chief, in allowing the decisive moment to pass, when a general of skill and intrepidity would doubtless have effected the destruction of the Russian army. The progressive inferiority of the Turkish armies as well as of their commanders, may also be observed in the escape of Peter from a position of such imminent peril. The fear, perhaps, of those reverses which had overthrown so many Sultans and Viziers, may have been present to the remembrance of Mehemet, and the defeat on the banks of the Salemkennen, might well cause the Vizier to dread the fearful shock of such an army, urged onward by famine and

despair. In the better days of Ottoman greatness, while ruled by the Amuraths or the Selims, they would have bathed their scimitars in the blood of the devoted Muscovite host; but now the impetuous spirit of the Turks had fled, leaving nothing to supply its place, save the irregular onsets of unsteady violence.

The events which followed this treaty are mere matters of intrigue, principally connected with Charles XII. It is indeed melancholy to reflect on the fate of this remarkable man. Possessed of great natural endowments and political resources, he offered them up at the shrine of his indomitable pride. These advantages were rendered unavailing, and were equally pernicious to himself and to his kingdom. Such is the consequence of a false predominating principle, that Charles, instead of presiding over a great kingdom, and being a ruler of the destiny of nations, dragged out an exile's life among those whom he viewed as ignorant barbarians, but who nevertheless had finesse enough to make him their dupe.

The news of peace were welcomed at the capital; but the Sultana Valide warmly espoused the cause of the Swedish monarch. Baltadgi was sent into exile, Kiaia was decapitated, and Brancovani, the Waiwode of Wallachia, with all his family, were dragged to the Seven Towers, and were eventually all condemned to die. The Mufti, who attended them, pressed upon the Wallachian prince and his offspring, the alternative of pardon and release, as contingent on their abjuration of the Christian faith. Brancovani and his consort indignantly rejected the terms; and they beheld with unshrinking constancy three of their children beheaded before their eyes. The fourth and youngest, sprinkled with his brothers' blood, and sinking under the horrors of the scene, exclaimed that he would accept the proffered terms, and the execution was therefore stayed during the time requisite to acquaint the Sultan with this circumstance. But Achmet disdaining a conversion which the fear of death alone had produced, rejected the plea, and the young prince was executed. Brancovani perished next, bewailing to his last breath, not his own misfortunes, but the weakness of his youngest son; lastly, the strangulation of the Wallachian

princess filled up the tragedy. This horrid scene appears to have wakened an unusual sympathy even among the obdurate Ottomans, already so inured to blood; for to this hour, the death of Prince Brancovani and his family, is the story which is dwelt upon to the visitor of the Seven Towers.—Charles still continuing his intrigues, was informed by the newly appointed Vizier, who seems to have been a creature in the interests of Russia, “to abstain from any farther intrigues, as, on the slightest discovery, he would be cast into the Bosphorus with a stone suspended from his neck.”

The Czar ungratefully and dishonourably retarded the performance of the articles of the treaty to which he had pledged his faith and owed his safety. The Vizier fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the Sultan. With this the hopes of the Swedish King revived; and the Sultana Valide proclaimed aloud her admiration of his heroic valour. Peter, ashamed of his duplicity, or perhaps afraid to provoke a rupture with the Porte, seriously promised to execute the stipulations of the treaty; and the presents he made to the Ottoman ministers, allayed the rising storm. It now became apparent to the Sultan, that it was essential for the peace of the state to get quit of such a troublesome guest as the King of Sweden, but the stubborn monarch obstinately refused to leave the Ottoman territories. The Khan of the Tartars and the Pasha of Bender in vain sought to alter his implacable spirit. He barricaded his residence at Bender, and resisting the assault of six thousand Turks and Tartars, he caused the death of most of his faithful followers. The Turks admired his valour and forbore to injure him; overpowered and alone, his sword fell from his grasp, and he sank into the arms of the Janizaries who pressed upon him. Conducted to Adrianople, and eventually to Dimotica, a strong city of Bulgaria, Charles now discovered that he could expect no further aid from the Turks, and freed the Ottoman ministers from a troublesome and costly guest.

The Turks, invariably indifferent to foreign politics, appear to have been incapable of taking advantage of favourable conjunctures to regain their power. The alliance with Charles XII. had been neglected during his triumphant campaigns in Poland; yet his person was respected and his

cause espoused, when he was without power and a refugee. So also, the Emperor of Germany being at peace with France and all his neighbours, Achmet assumed a warlike position and armed by sea and land.

The armies of Austria were directed by the military talents of Eugene, and a hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans were commanded by a youthful and inexperienced Vizier, Courmourdgi Ali. The imperial army passed the Danube—the Ottoman host passed the river Saare. The Turks were totally routed, and the reduction of the important city of Temeswar was the result of this campaign. In the ensuing year the campaign was equally disastrous to the Turks. The whole Turkish camp and stores fell a prey to the victors. Belgrade, Saboz, and Selymbria surrendered, and the Grand Vizier with difficulty rallied thirty thousand soldiers at Nissa, to defend the defiles which interpose between Thrace and the capital. Achmet sued for peace; and the flames of war which were lighted up in Europe by Philip V., King of Spain, secured, under the circumstances, favourable terms for the Ottoman Porte. By the peace of Passarowitz the Turks ceded the fortresses of Temeswar and Belgrade, and the Venetians were secured in the possession of the Morea.

It has been usual to attribute the introduction of the printing press at Constantinople to a later period; but it was actually introduced during the reign of Achmet; and the honour of triumphing over the prejudices of his country is due to Mehemet-effendi, the negotiator of the peace of Passarowitz, who was deputed upon a special embassy to Louis XV. of France.

While such a remarkable invention was conferring a marked distinction on the reign of Achmet, a political revolution took place in Persia, which overthrew the throne of the Sophi race, and changed all the relations of this interesting and important portion of Asia. While Persia was a prey to her internal and foreign foes, the Turks and the Russians equally availed themselves of her deplorable condition. The Czar Peter took possession of the provinces of Shirwan, of Mazanderan, of Ghilan, and the shores of the Caspian Sea. The Turks added the important kingdom of Georgia to their northern frontier, and completed an impregnable line of de-

fences by the acquisition of Armenia, comprising the salt mines of Ararat, the provinces of Erivan, and of Nakshivan. and Khadí, with the mountainous parts of Taurus, which carried the dominions of Turkey as far as the lake Ouramia. Turkey thus easily succeeded in acquiring more splendid conquests in the east, than all the hardihood of Selim or Soliman could achieve: but however promising the commencement, it ended in national disgrace and misfortune. The Pasha of Bagdad meanwhile penetrated to the heart of the ancient Susiana, and reached the once celebrated Ecbatana. The Porte concluded a treaty with Ashreff, an Afghan, who usurped the throne of Persia; but the ink was scarcely dry, when a single man arose who reversed the fortunes of the East. His name was Thamas Kouli Khan, better known after his assumption of the diadem as Nadir Shah. Ashreff was chased from the throne, and met a cruel and perhaps a merited death; and Nadir Shah became the powerful master of the Persian empire. He displayed during his sovereignty the most marked talents, courage, and magnanimity; and his first step was to demand from the Turkish Sultan the restitution of those important provinces which Ashreff had formerly surrendered by treaty. The rejoicing of the Ottomans had scarcely ceased when the new envoys of Persia announced the vengeance of Nadir Shah, if these acquisitions were not forthwith given up. It was at Hamadan that the first celebrated encounter took place, at which Nadir Shah manifested those military talents which place him among the most distinguished of Eastern commanders. The Turks, enveloped on all sides by his manœuvres, were cut to pieces and completely defeated, and Nadir Shah, with the celerity which henceforth marked his movements, marched into the province of Ardebeil, succeeded in surprising and completely defeating his foe, and Taurus and all Ardebeil was delivered from the Ottoman yoke.

During these conquests, Nadir committed an act of cruelty which eventually overturned the throne of Achmet. Nadir deprived three hundred captives of their ears and noses, and in that mutilated state sent them back to Turkey. In order to prevent the impression which the appearance of so many disfigured fugitives might make on the capital, the

Grand Vizier despatched orders to sink the vessel which bore these unfortunate victims on their voyage to the capital. A fatal witness of this deed of national treachery survived in the person of Ali Patrona, who conceived and accomplished the rash project of changing the whole system of the state. A rebellion was immediately hatched: the usual steps produced the usual results; by and by increased numbers produced fresh demands; soon the chief officers of the state were sacrificed, and after the rebels had glutted their revenge on their mutilated corpses, the insurrectionary leaders demanded the deposition of the Sultan himself. Achmet, in this extremity, repaired to the apartment of his nephew Mahmoud, he conducted him to the Hazoda, and saluted him as Emperor.

Thus after a reign of twenty-seven years, Achmet beheld himself the third Emperor who had been compelled to abdicate the supreme authority within the short space of half a century.

SKETCH OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

The circumstances which first brought the Russians and Turks into contact have been previously referred to. Since that event till the time of Peter the Great, nothing worthy of record took place between them.

The state of Russia, indeed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was most disastrous. Shinskii was deposed by the Poles, and sent to Poland, where he died in 1612: Moscow, without a sovereign, was pillaged and occupied by the Poles: the great Novogorod was seized by the Swedes; and the whole kingdom seemed about to be divided amongst its enemies. Nothing was anticipated but the final partition and total annihilation of the empire, when sudden and unexpectedly a liberator appeared. Kozma Minin, a butcher of Novogorod, roused by the highest patriotism, resolved to deliver his country from his enemies, or to perish in the attempt. He possessed the rare power of inspiring his countrymen with the same sentiments, and they willingly gave their lives and property in aid of the common cause. The

old contributed their benedictions: wives received the oaths of their husbands and children to conquer or die for their country: old and young divested themselves of their ornaments, their pearls and precious stones; Prince Pojaraskii, who had formerly distinguished himself, was chosen commander of the troops, which were rapidly assembling. He conducted them to Moscow, vanquished the Poles, and liberated Russia from the thralldom of her enemies.

There had been many divisions in Russia among the nobles as to the choice of a sovereign, whether they should have a Polish or a Swedish prince; but the most powerful party were desirous of elevating to the throne, a native Russian, a distant relation of the ancient family of the Czars, whose father was metropolitan of Rostof. He was the first of the present family and dynasty, Romanof, whose descendants have raised the empire to its present state of importance and grandeur. His reign was prosperous; and under his sway, Russia acquired hitherto unknown importance in the scale of nations. He was succeeded by one of the most distinguished princes of the present dynasty, Alexei Michailovitch, grandfather of Peter the Great. The adulators of Peter have overlooked the merits of this prince; for it cannot be doubted, by the imperial records of Russian history, that a great many of the improvements attributed to Peter originated with his grandfather Alexei.

The Russian empire had been steadily adding to its territory and increasing in importance, when Peter the Great ascended the throne, in 1689. It would be foreign to the object of this work to trace minutely the history of that monarch, who may, in truth, be said to have been the real founder of the Russian empire, not only in so far as he added to its territorial extent, but especially by his having established that system of policy, in the pursuit of which, Russia has rapidly risen to its present unparalleled extent and power.

Peter the Great was undoubtedly a great politician, statesman, and general; although, perhaps, in all these capacities he made many important blunders. He did not, as is generally stated, civilize his people; but he undoubtedly laid, or widely extended, the basis of their civilization. He

formed a navy; re-organised an army; promulgated useful laws; protected, and to a certain extent, purified the religion of his country; introduced and fostered arts and sciences, and literature; and he ardently and successfully promoted the general improvement of Russia. He founded Petersburg, and made it his residence and the capital of his empire. He extended commerce, and gave every encouragement to trade and manufactures. He made canals, repaired roads and instituted regular posts. Therefore as a monarch, he claims our admiration; but as a man, his memory deserves the desecration of the civilized world. The records of eastern despotism, so fertile in crime, do not furnish a monarch more tyrannical and ferocious. He was violent, cruel, and treacherous; and sometimes was guilty of actions so atrocious, which, in another man, would have passed for the acts of a lunatic. He delighted to shed, with his own hand, the blood of his subjects. This tyrant, in the midst of his intemperate orgies, amused himself upon one occasion with decapitating twenty victims, brought out of the prison for that purpose. At every glass of wine he cut off the head of one of these wretched creatures, and endeavoured to gain the applause of the Prussian ambassador for his dexterity as an executioner. This capricious tyrant not only delighted to witness the sufferings and torture of those who offended him, but even the ties of paternal affection had no influence on his sanguinary nature. His son Alexis, in order to escape from the animosity of his father, left Russia without permission. The Czar got information that he was concealed at Naples, when he immediately despatched one of the most infamous of his ministers to prevail on the prince to return. By the influence of money and flattery he gained over the mistress who had accompanied the prince, and she prevailed on the unfortunate young man to comply with his father's request. The Czar deceived, at the same time, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Naples, who had made intercession on his son's behalf. Notwithstanding his solemn promises to pardon Alexis, he had him tried as a most abandoned villain, and caused him to be put to death.

Nothing can excuse or even palliate the cruelties of this

monarch, yet many writers have attempted to justify his barbarity, on the shallow plea of necessity, and expediency and even of justice and sound policy.

The policy of Russia has ever been aggressive, and this system was successfully pursued, if not in a great measure originated, by Peter the Great; and the maxims of that monarch have become the traditional policy of all his successors. Constantinople has long been, and still continues to be, the object of Russian ambition. After Catherine II. had wrested the Crimea from the Turks, she projected a journey to her new province, during which she proposed to display her magnificence and power, of which she was passionately fond. But she had great objects in view. After having solemnly taken the sceptre of the Crimea, and awed the surrounding nations into submission, she intended to conduct her grandson Constantine to the gates of that oriental empire, to which she had destined him from his birth. The scheme was narrowed in consequence of the illness of Constantine. With a view to his ultimate destiny, Constantine, at his birth, was put into the hands of a Greek nurse, and was always dressed in the fashion of the Greeks, and surrounded by children of that nation. Catherine, proceeding upon her journey, arrived at the city of Cherson, and when visiting several parts of that city, she read upon a gate on the side to the east, "By this the way leads to Byzantium." It was the object of her ambition to possess the capital of the lower empire, which during her long reign was never lost sight of. This ambitious design has been steadily followed by Russia; and all that perfidy and dissimulation can do, has been done for the accomplishment of this great object. This policy need only to be kept steadily in view to lead to a correct understanding of the designs of all the wars of Russia against Turkey, which, from this period, have scarcely ever ceased.

Almost every Russian is inspired with the conviction that his country is destined one day to conquer the world; and the rapid strides which that empire of late years has made, may impress the belief of its rapid realization. The fearful strife of 1812, the important conquests of 1813 and 1814, the overthrow of Napoleon and the march through Germany,

can hardly be denied to be sufficient to impress these semi-barbarians with an idea of invincibility. But the steady progress of Muscovite aggression will be best understood by a brief statement of the acquisitions of Russia from the time of the accession of Peter the Great.

When that monarch mounted the throne, little more than a century and a half ago, he had no seaport but the half-frozen one of Archangel. His first effort at ship-building was a yacht which Peter ordered a Dutchman named Brandt to construct, and it was launched on the Moscowa in 1691. Several small vessels were afterwards built which carried guns. Such was the commencement of the Russian navy, which, at least to neighbouring states, has proved itself of late years to be both formidable and dangerous. The successes of Peter over the Swedes gave him the first harbour which Russia possessed on the Baltic. The battle of Pultava and the treaty of Neustadt, added the province of Livonia, and the site where Cronstadt and St. Petersburg now stand. The partition of 1772 brought the Russian frontiers on the side of Poland, to the Dwina and Dnieper, and the treaty of Kainardgi, and the ukase of 1783, extended her sway over the Crimea, and the vast plains which stretch between the Euxine and the Caspian, as far as the foot of mount Caucasus. Acquisitions from Tartary, larger than the whole of Germany, spread her dominion over the boundless tracts of central Asia. The treaty of Jassay, in 1792, brought the harbour of Odessa beneath her rule; the infamous spoliation of Poland in 1793, gave them the command of Lithuania; the conquests of Suwaroff in 1794, extended their frontier to the Vistula, and the provinces embracing nearly the half of the old kingdom of Poland. Even the disaster of Friedland added to her territory at the expense of her ally, Prussia. By the conferences of Tilsit she procured the liberty of pursuing her conquests over the Swedes and the Turks; and the treaties of Stockholm in 1809, and Bucharest in 1812, gave her the whole of Finland, and extended her southern frontier to the Pruth, thereby conferring the inestimable advantages of including the mouths of the Danube in her dominions.

These important conquests were not only recognised at

the congress of Vienna, but the still more valuable acquisition of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, which brought her within one hundred and eighty miles of Berlin and Vienna, was also secured to her. Various conquests over the Circassians and Persians between 1800 and 1814, added the province of Georgia to her dominions, and the Araxis became the southern boundary of her Asiatic territories.

It is needless to deny that an empire of such an extent and resources, containing sixty-four millions of inhabitants, and doubling that population every half century, is in the highest degree formidable to the liberties of Europe.

MAHMOUD I.

Called to the throne by rebels, Mahmoud directed all his efforts to ward off any revolutionary attempts against his authority; and his Kislar-aga, a wary and experienced character, who had witnessed the revolt of 1702, and that of 1730, which raised Mahmoud to the throne, counselled the Sultan to keep the real power in his own hands, often to re-appoint a new Grand Vizier, and never on any account to continue the same person in that eminent station above three years. Mahmoud perhaps too strictly adhered to this sagacious advice, and thus continually innovated on the former practice in that branch of the body politic, which, without being an understood law, had become in his hands a matter of usage.—The war still continued with Persia, and the Ottoman forces had regained some portion of Erivan, when, faithful to the policy he had adopted, Mahmoud recalled Ali Pasha from the army; and Osman, deposed from the Viziriât, under a charge of favouring the Giours, was sent to replace him, with the title of Pasha of *three tails*, or Vizier.

Topal Osman is represented as a man of a noble character, disinterested, generous, and brave. In his youth he was captured by a Spanish corsair when on his passage to Egypt, and dragged to Malta. A Marseillois, named Arniaud, struck with the air of Osman, purchased him from the corsair and admitted him to his home; and having had him

healed of his wounds, he restored Osman to freedom and to his native country. Osman became successively Seraskier of the Morea, and Pasha of Roumelia; and when elevated to the Viziriat, his first thoughts were of Arniaud, and of inviting him to Constantinople. Arniaud retired from the capital to his native place, loaded with the Vizier's bounties. —Bagdad was now menaced by the much dreaded Nadir Shah; thither Osman directed his steps with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. A furious battle took place under the walls of the city, and the Persians were totally defeated, and Nadir himself was dangerously wounded. The Turks, in this instance, were guilty of an outrage, of which humanity had been spared the sight since the days of Tamerlane, by erecting a pillar, the niches of which they decorated with human heads.


Nadir retired beyond the deserts which interposed between the provinces of Persia, whither Osman was unable to follow him, owing to his want of provisions for the army. The same system of intrigue which had deprived him of the Viziriat, denied him, in the hour of victory, the necessary support. Osman, however, found resources in his own character and reputation; and the neighbouring Arab tribes, upon the faith of his promises, brought him supplies. He had scarcely collected together the half of his original force, when the fierce and indomitable Nadir had forced the defiles, and was again prepared to attack the Ottomans. They remained in their entrenched camp at Kerkhoud, and Nadir again tried his strength with Osman. The Persian chief was totally vanquished, and his army was pursued beyond Keilan, and Nadir Shah, disheartened at his loss, made overtures for peace. Osman dignifiedly replied, "that his Sublime Master did not make treaties with usurpers."

The honour of rendering these victories the means of increasing and strengthening the Ottoman state, was denied to Osman. The necessary reinforcements and supplies to maintain such a powerful attitude were withheld; and he was compelled to enter upon the campaign of 1734, with a weakened army and a divided force. A battle soon ensued. The Ottomans were overpowered and Osman was slain; and the remains of the Turkish forces fled beyond Taurus,

and towards Diarbekir. The important city of Bagdad was threatened; and the fortunes of Nadir, henceforth retained the ascendant which he had now acquired. A fresh army of sixty-six thousand men, led by Abdella, the brother-in-law of the Sultan, hastened to the vicinity of Erivan, and there suffered a most signal defeat. This disaster brought about a peace with Persia. The Porte relinquished Georgia, and opened the sacred territory of Mecca to the visits of Persian pilgrims. The general boundaries of the Ottoman empire resumed nearly their former outlines.

The vacillation of the government of Mahmoud, rendered it extremely probable that the Ottoman Porte would be involved in the consequences of the contest for the throne of Poland, between Augustus the Third, the Elector of Saxony, and Stanislaus Lecziusky, which broke out in 1734; and such a contingency was not long in following. The Turks, by the publicity of their armaments, excited the resentment of the Russian Empress Anne, and they soon found themselves involved single-handed with that power. The Emperor of Germany, also, was making preparations to join his forces to those of Russia. The declaration of war by the court of St. Petersburg, was forthwith received at Constantinople; but Mahmoud, as had been customary, or who perhaps, was still anxious for peace, forbore to confine the Russian envoys in the Seven Towers. The Russians, however, assumed the initiative, and opened the campaign of 1736, by an attack on the Crimea, for the subjugation of which, the famed Marshal Munich led a numerous Russian army.

The lines of Precop, which might have proved an impregnable defence, had they been maintained with bravery and adequate military science, were turned by the manœuvres of Munich; and having burst into the Peninsula, he proceeded to lay siege to Azoph, of which he soon became master. His next important conquest was the city of Ocza-kow, situated on the right bank of the Borysthenes, and near the mouth of that river; the explosion of its powder magazines, the effects of a chance bomb thrown into the works, produced such consternation, that the fortress was surrendered almost instantly to the fortunate marshal; and the campaign *was finished* by the capture of Kibournow, the key of the



river Dnieper. The year 1737 opened with the most gloomy appearances. The Emperor of Germany joining his pretensions to those of the Russian empress, invaded at the same time the provinces of Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. The Sultan was desirous of peace; but the German emperor, elated with his favourable prospects, demanded the cession of those important provinces as the price of his mediation. The Turks, inflamed at such unreasonable demands, passed at once from despondency to fury, and fiercely rejected the idea of such a dismemberment.

Fortunately for the Turks, an European of extraordinary energy and talent had taken up his residence among them. The celebrated Count de Bonneval made his appearance, which seems to have been as opportune to the Mussulmans as the talents of Themistocles were to Artaxerxes; for under the influence of his counsels, the Ottomans took the field against the Imperialists with an excess of spirit and enthusiasm, which was strongly contrasted by their dislike to combat against the Russians in the inhospitable deserts of the Ukraine. The Count of Seckendorff had taken Nissa, and was preparing to besiege Widdin, on the Danube, when the Grand Vizier, pressing forward, attacked his corps with such decided success, that the Count was compelled to evacuate Servia, with a loss of a third of his army, and Nissa opened her gates to the victorious Ottomans. In Bosnia the Turkish arms were equally successful. They stormed the intrenched camp of the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and obtaining a complete victory, dispersed the whole of his forces.

The main cause of this change of fortune appears to have arisen from the division of the imperial forces into four detachments, combating at once on four frontier points, whereby the war became a contest of skirmishing for which the Turkish troops are admirably adapted.

The Vizier made his triumphant entry into Constantinople, and deposited at the foot of his master the keys of five important places captured in this campaign. So rigidly did Mahmoud follow the policy which he had adopted on ascending the throne, that the Grand Vizier, who had performed such signal services to his master, had no sooner rejoined the

army near Adrianople, than the seals were demanded by the Capidgi Bashi, and the Vizier was desired to make choice of his place of exile.

The Pasha of Elivas was raised to the Viziriat, who forthwith directed the whole military force of the empire against Belgrade, the key of the Turkish provinces on the Danube. The intrenched camp of Count de Willis was carried by assault, who with the relics of his forces took refuge within the circuit of Belgrade. Master of the course of the Danube, and possessing a numerous artillery which made a great impression on the fortifications, the ardent Janizaries murmured because the signal was not given for an assault; but Elivaš Pasha was gifted with as much prudence and sagacity, as he had exhibited traits of courage. Displaying the whole force of his army, he invited the plenipotentiaries of Austria to treat for peace, under the friendly mediation of France; and assisted by the talents and experience of Mehemet Ragheb, he succeeded in dictating the law to the negotiators. "The bad faith of Austria," said he to the imperial ambassadors, "had been the sole cause of the war, wherein God had favoured the Mussulmans and had espoused the just cause." "As there is but one God," said the Vizier with noble firmness, "I have but one word, and that is Belgrade—Belgrade untouched in its fortifications, shall be restored to my Sublime Emperor, and for that price he will sign a peace." Willis and Count Nieperg finally yielded to the uncompromising Ottoman, and the peace of Belgrade was signed on the first of September 1739, which nullified the treaty of Passarowitz, and re-established the rivers Danube, Save, and Unna, for the boundaries of the two empires.

The pacification with the imperial court was followed by another with the Empress Anne. The war had been uniformly successful to her arms; but it fatigued and embarrassed her politics, which looked to another direction than towards the marshes of the Ukraine and the Crimea; hence, she restored her conquests of Choczim and Moldavia, and agreed to the demolition of the port of Azoph; but she obtained an annulment of all previous national treaties *anterior to that of Belgrade*, which, instead of being a truce,

was declared to be a perpetual treaty of peace; and this recognition became in course of time of much importance, and effaced the recollections of the treaty of Pruth. The Sultan now also consented to recognise the Czarina's title of Empress; and this seemingly trivial or courteous formality, was, in fact, a concession of singular importance in the eyes of the Ottomans. Hitherto the rivalry of the Ottomans and the Russians had continued in an incipient state; but in a short time, we find them engaged in an unequal and deadly rivalry; and the progressive ambition of the one, and the retrogression of the other, becomes, at each successive step, the more apparent.

The Ottoman Porte at this period consented to treat with the court of Sweden, and to commute the debts of her sovereign Charles XII. for the present of a vessel of war and thirty thousand muskets.

The treaty of Belgrade thus established the general peace which the Turkish empire so much needed; but the Grand Vizier Elivas, instead of being recompensed for the pacification, was deprived of the seals of office, which were committed to the Kaimakan Achmet.

The death of the Emperor Charles XII., the last male of the illustrious house of Hapsburg, armed, in 1741, all the powers of Europe; and the Ottoman Emperor, far from rejoicing at the prospect of their thus weakening each other, did himself the signal credit and honour of inviting the Christian princes to a reconciliation, and proffered to them his mediation. The diplomatic intercourse of the Turkish court had hitherto been characterised by fanaticism, pride, and disdain; but the letters written in the name of the Sultan, at this period, to the different courts of Europe, breathe the finest sentiments of national honour and good will. A silent and inactive spectator of the war which desolated Europe, until terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the Sultan Mahmoud, far from availing himself of its chances to annoy his neighbours, voluntarily allayed any uneasiness on the part of the court of Vienna, by converting the truce into a perpetual peace.

A popular excitement, induced by the folly and ambition of some court favourites, disturbed for a time the tranquillity

of Mahmoud ; but the severe justice of the Sultan brought the ringleaders to execution and repressed the subordinate depredators. Directing his views to the maintenance of the tranquillity of his capital, Mahmoud either did not regard, or was incapable of observing the signs of the times in the remote part of his empire. Age, indeed, had impaired his energy and augmented his suspicion ; and the privation of any issue disturbed his mind. Mahmoud, in short, was scarcely anything more than the governor of his capital ; and in this state of mind, he was the more apt to overlook that speck on the distant horizon, so soon to be converted into a formidable cloud of enemies, distinguished as the sect of the Wahabites.

The province of Yemen originated this offset from the schools of the Karmatians, the genuine promulgators of the dogmas and austerities of those warlike fanatics, who, under the name of Kalifs of the Abbasside race, were the scourge of Islamism, and the terror of Arabia. The obscure race of the Wahabites, treading in the first steps of the Turks themselves, commenced by obeying a spiritual guide, in the Sheik Muhammed, and having their Othman or leader in Ebn Sehaud, the Prince of Derayah and Delahsa, two districts situated in the desert nearly a hundred leagues from Bassora.

Sheik Muhammed, a man of talent and address of the tribe of the Nejedis, undertook to become the reformer of Islamism, and to bring back the Koran to its primitive simplicity and purity. He took this sacred book for his basis, rejecting the glosses of the Sunnites, and reducing Mahomet to the standard of a wise man, beloved by God, and an instrument only, to declare the will of the Most High to mankind. Before opening his commission, the skilful Sheik laid claim to the miracle of a lambent flame having appeared in the person of his grandfather, announcing the future holy vocation of his descendant ; and the Sheiks who interpret these visions, declared that tradition had fully established the claims in a son of Solyman, the humble shepherd of the desert. El Wahab, the son of Solyman, saw these prognostics verified, not in his own person, but in that of the Sheik Muhammed, of whom he was the father ; and these oracular seers of the

desert gave the surname of Wahabites to the new sectarians, although the Sheik Muhammed was their actual legislator.

The new prophet now issued forth from Yemen, and overran the cities of the Euphrates and of Syria. Rejected like the prophet Mahomet in his commencement—repulsed from Mecca and Damascus—chased from Bagdad and from Basora, he retired, after three years of ill success, to his native spot. The Prince Ebn Sehaud was then the ruler of a newly formed state composed of various tribes, weakened by their wars and dissensions, but partly knit together and attached to his fortunes in consequence of his bravery and exploits. Confidence and admiration were the basis of his authority, and the guarantee of his subjects' fidelity. Ebn Sehaud embraced the doctrine of the Sheik, and was made the leader of those bands who were prepared to spread their faith by the sword. The city of Derayah in Arabia soon became distinguished as the capital of the Wahabites. This community of soldiers contained all the materials for promoting the ambitious views of their chief. They were abstemious, robust, courageous, greedy of spoil, and fanatic. They were divided into select troops of cavaliers; they were accustomed to the severest toils, and the most violent exercises; they were lightly armed, and accustomed, two of them to mount on each dromedary, whereby they could accomplish long and extraordinary marches. "Would you be rich, powerful, and dreaded," Ebn Sehaud exclaimed to his Arabs, as he dismissed them over the vast deserts, thus armed and equipped, to surprise and plunder their foes, "soldiers, despise death!"

Mahmoud had wholly overlooked this formidable race, who now began to manifest their power on the side of Russia. The Russians too, were drawing tighter and closer the barrier between the Ottoman provinces and their own. They had gradually peopled, occupied, and strengthened the vast tract of country comprised between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. These deserts were the boundary and mutual defence of their empires, and it had been stipulated by treaties that they should remain free; but the Russians gradually and silently established a continuous line of forts and redoubts, which formed a circumvallation round the

states of the Khan of Tartary. Colonies were formed which attracted multitudes of Wallachians and Moldavians, influenced by a community of faith: soon villages and towns arose, and thus the Russians formed establishments for any future war, supplied with arms and strengthened by military defences. At the remonstrances of the Sultan, the court of St. Petersburg merely suspended these proceedings until the Sultan had relapsed into his usual lethargic indifference.

Mahmoud, indeed, drew near the end of his career; a fistula consumed the vitals of his constitution, and his end rapidly approached. He died between the two courts of the Seraglio, when on his way from assisting at the public prayers at St. Sophia. The Sultan's death took place in December, 1754, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His death caused universal regret.

Mahmoud was mild, affable and humane. That he did not want talent is apparent from the position to which he raised Turkey in its foreign politics, and the comparative tranquillity of his domestic and civil policy. He loved and cultivated the fine arts, and considerably softened the fierceness of the Ottoman habits and manners. His choice of a profession led him to work specimens of ebony and ivory as matters of ornament, whence a general interest was excited for articles of splendour and luxury hitherto unknown in the residences of the rich and powerful Turks.

The doctrine of Islamism, indeed, teaches that no man may be above his destiny, and that every one may learn a vocation whereby he may earn his bread, if predestined to do so. A curious list is given in *Maradja* of the occupations of Patriarchs, Kalifs, and Sultans, which commences with the first man. Adam tilled the ground; Noah was a carpenter; Abraham a weaver; David made coats of mail; Solomon made baskets of the date tree; the Kalif Omar manufactured skins; Othman sold eatables; and Ali, the cousin of the prophet, hired himself to a master for a salary.

After these examples, the Ottoman sovereigns did not think it beneath them to submit to this law, in imitation of so many eminent examples. Thus Mahomet II. sold flowers; Soliman the Great made slippers; Achmet I. made ebony cases and boxes; Achmet III. excelled in writing, and he

emblazoned the canonical books; and Selim II. painted muslins.

OTHMAN III.

had reached the age of 53, when called from a prison to a throne. His demeanour and conduct throughout his short reign, was a striking commentary upon the miserable education which the Ottoman princes enjoyed among the eunuchs and female attendants of the Seraglio. During this reign, a remarkable conflagration took place at Constantinople, in 1756, which consumed nearly three parts of the capital, or about 80,000 dwellings.

Having no sons of his own, Othman became jealous of his nephews, the sons of Achmet, who, he imagined, attracted the views and affections of his subjects, and he formed the design of destroying the whole race of the Ottomans. Two of these princes perished by poison; Mustapha tasted the deadly drug, but recovered, and he and Abdul-hamid only escaped.

Othman reigned three years, during which he certainly exhibited a weak and capricious character. But although we may censure Othman both as a sovereign and a man, we must bear this testimony to his memory, that he appears only to have wanted proper culture to have become a different character. In the short duration of his reign, he completed the splendid mosque called the Niour Osmanie, or the Ottoman splendour, which ranks among the chief specimens of Ottoman grandeur. The rich columns which formed the peristyle of the palace of the regal race of the Attali of Pergamus, became part of its interesting ornaments; still more to his glory, Othman founded a university or college for the maintenance of one hundred and seventy students. As a further testimony also of his love of letters, he opened in 1755, the library which bears his name, wherein, among other treasures, are deposited two copies of the Koran, the one written by the hand of Ali, the other by that of Othman the founder of the Turkish empire.

MUSTAPHA III.

OTHMAN had resolved to remove Mehemet Ragheb from the Viziriat, but owing to the death of that Sultan, Ragheb retained his power; and the Vizier hastened to withdraw Mustapha from his imprisonment, and to proclaim him Sultan. When he issued from his confinement, it was evident that the poison had left visible traces of its potency on the features of Mustapha; and he maintained a pallid and way-worn look throughout his life.

Ejadi, the Pasha of Damascus, a politic and accomplished chief, through the fickleness of Othman, had been removed from his office to the pashalik of Aleppo; but previous to which he had deeply ingratiated himself with the Bedouin Arabs. The Arabs, indignant at losing their patron, had collected upwards of forty thousand men, and they succeeded in surprising, plundering, and massacring the sacred caravan, on its pilgrimage to Mecca.

Great importance had been attached to the escort and safe passage of the pilgrims on this devout mission; and the incident appeared likely to cloud, if not to overthrow, the bright prospects of Mustapha. But the adroit Ragheb ascertained that the occurrence had actually taken place under the rule of Othman, and was referable to the sinister event of his death, and not to Mustapha's accession to the throne. The public mind was thus appeased by this fortunate explanation, together with the sacrifice of the Kislár-aga, who was the hated favourite of the late Sultan. His head was exposed at the Seraglio gate in a silver dish with an inscription, "that he was punished as a traitor against the faith, and for having been the cause of the sacrilege committed by the Arabs against the sacred caravan." In this certainly he had no part; and it is one amongst the many instances that occur in the Ottoman annals, of the barbarous sacrifice of the innocent, to satisfy the clamour of the multitude, in the vain idea of adding to the stability of the throne. The cloud which had hung over the commencement of Mustapha's reign was thus dispelled. He was forty years of age when he assumed the sceptre, and had been a prisoner for twenty-seven years.

The Sultan, aided by his Vizier, endeavoured to introduce order into the state, and to renew its wasted energies. Severe sumptuary laws, enforced rigidly by Mustapha, attest the progress of luxury which had rapidly increased under the late sovereigns. A revolt, hitherto unknown among the Ottomans, at this period disturbed the capital. Seventy vessels laden with corn had been wrecked in the Black sea; and as Constantinople depended upon its supplies from this quarter, a famine threatened to ensue. The disturbance was principally headed by females, who broke open the granaries, and continued their violence and clamours, until a partial distribution of the scanty supplies restored tranquillity. Notwithstanding the disposition of the Sultan and his ministers to renew the warlike enterprises so suited to the genius and early impressions of the Ottoman soldiery, a profound peace reigned throughout the empire; and the Ulema, hostile to war, declared it to be contrary to the Koran to disturb a peace, the conditions whereof were punctually fulfilled.

Mehemet Ragheb, the most able and experienced statesman which Turkey had possessed since the distinguished Achmet Kiuperli, died in 1762, after having enjoyed for five years the exercise of supreme power under Mustapha. The character of Ragheb is inscribed among the list of public benefactors. His enlightened mind proposed to secure the capital from the future ravages of the plague, by establishing lazarettoes on the Islands of Princes; but the minds of the people whom he sought to benefit, were not matured enough to apprehend the meaning of these sanitary arrangements. Distinguished by literary talents, and an ardent patron of learning, Ragheb founded a library, which he gave by his will to the public; and on the entrance is marked this simple inscription, "Honour and glory to God, and in hope of pleasing him, Mehemet, Grand Vizier, surnamed Ragheb, or the Studious, has founded this establishment, in the year of the Hejira 1176," (A.D. 1762). He is not only signalized by his love of letters, but Ragheb also cultivated literature in his own person. Among other works, he is the author of Collections in Morals and Philosophy in Arabic; chosen sentences and remarkable words;

also a collection of Letters and State Papers of his own life. Du Halde's China was being translated into Turkish under Ragheb's inspection, but the work was dropped at his death.

All these works sufficiently indicate the cultivated mind of the Vizier; but he was equally great, or perhaps more remarkable as a politician. His finesse and expertness, and his great energy and firmness of character, warded off the dangers incidental to his dignity. He even succeeded in the dangerous experiment of disgracing and exiling the Mufti, with all his other inferior rivals. The Sultan continued to tread in the steps of his late Vizier, and to accumulate treasures for the realization of his ambitious projects, when, in 1763, the birth of a son, the amiable and unfortunate Selim III., filled Constantinople with joy, and the enthusiasm of the capital was indulged in festivities for ten successive days.

Little encouragement has been given in Turkey to literature; and the Turks are as far behind their neighbours in that respect, as they are in the cultivation of the sciences and arts. Nevertheless, M. Schulz, a German professor, speaking of the libraries of Constantinople, in a letter dated September 1826, observes, "It is difficult to say how many libraries there are in the vast surface of Constantinople; there exists a number scarcely known to any body, which are rich in valuable works. I have already visited thirty." After enumerating a great number of works, some of them of enormous dimensions, he adds, "All these establishments are for the most part very rich." M. Schulz mentions a work on Damascus and Aleppo, which contains twenty-two thousand pages, in folio, of very small writing!

At this epoch, the councils of the Porte being directed not to conquest but to preserve, arose the first friendly ties with Prussia. The political state of the Crimea underwent a violent change, from the invasion of Krim Guary, a deposed khan. He overturned the authority of Alim Guary, who was old, timid, and imbecile; and the fiery Tartar seized the throne, and collecting together a vast body of Tartars, he deluged Moldavia, in which he reaped an immense booty. The Porte, who has invariably exhibited

great facility and skill in managing those who are powerful enough to take care of themselves, sanctioned the usurpation of Guary. This chief being desirous of power only, disdained the spoil which had been seized by his troops, and ransomed and restored the captive Moldavians and their herds.

Many circumstances conspired to retain Mustapha in his pacific views. Not even the death of Augustus III., King of Poland, and the menacing arrangement whereby the Empress Catherine II. succeeded in placing the crown of the Jagellons on the brows of her favourite Poniatowski, could effect a change in the Ottoman policy. The Janizaries were become unwarlike and idle; the Spahis sunk in luxury, and all classes of the military regardful only of the preservation of their timariots. Egypt was disturbed, and the Wahabites menaced Mecca. The violence, however, of one man lighted up a war, which not all the wrongs of Poland, and the politics of Turkey could effect; and these two formidable countries entered on the terrible conflict of 1768, which lasted six years.

Balta, a city of Crim Tartary, is separated by a rivulet from the Ukraine. It is noted for the rich pasturage which nourishes the numerous herds and flocks of the Nogay Tartars. Jacobub Aga, formerly the governor of Balta, owed his elevation to the Khan Krim Guary, who had been removed in consequence of the dread excited by his restless ambition. Jacobub languished in prison, in daily expectation of death; but at length he was set at liberty, and permitted to retire to Balta; previous to which, however, he had been stripped of his wealth. Full of ambition, and anxious to recall Krim Guary to his former station, he skillfully caught at an event which facilitated his plans. The discomfited Poles had retired on all sides before the vast superiority of the Russian forces, and a small detachment took refuge in the pashalik of Choczim, in the vicinity of Jacobub Aga. The intrigues of this artful man soon brought on a skirmish betwixt this little band of Poles and the Russians who had followed them. Driven back on Balta, the Poles were followed thither by their foes, and the Turks joined in the action which ensued. Many of them were

massacred by the Russians, and the towns and villages were consumed by fire. The details of these events being conveyed to Constantinople, threw the whole capital into an excess of rage; all parties were eager for war. Krim Guary, replaced in his former rank, was made generalissimo of the Ottoman armies, the Sanjak Sheriff was displayed with all imaginable pomp, and the war began.

All ranks of Mussulmans were invited to rally under the sacred standard; and all Asia crowded to the field. Devastation and waste tracked their course to the Danube, and Krim Guary, issuing from his peninsular steppes, with a hundred thousand of his Tartar subjects, and an immense host of Ottomans, opened the campaign, by crossing the Ingul and the Bog; he soon inundated New Serbia, and this province became the prey of his troops. The towns were destroyed; the wretched inhabitants were swept off into captivity; and with the exception of a few strong forts, the whole district returned to its original solitude and desolation.

Leading back his forces to Bender, the indefatigable Khan terminated the campaign: the Pasha had prepared a bridge of boats across the Danube, but had omitted to break the ice so as to fasten the chains to the bank. Guary, impatient of delay, exclaimed, "See how the Tartars are accustomed to pass rivers!" then dashed on horseback into the stream, and notwithstanding the crackling ice, succeeded in struggling safely to the opposite shore. This rash and warlike boldness was highly calculated to excite the superstitious Ottomans. The Vizier, however, a man of inferior talents, was jealous of his ascendancy, and Mehemet Emir Effendi was constrained to yield in silence; but he was not therefore the less dangerous. The Krim Guary died of poison, just as he was preparing to break into Poland.

— Catherine II. had relied on her address to parry the war, but she was taken by surprise. The campaign of 1769 was opened by the Ottomans with a vast undisciplined force of more than two hundred thousand men. So perfectly had the Russians understood the inferiority of the undisciplined bravery of the Turkish hordes, when not directed by a masterly mind, that Prince Galitzin calmly opposed them *with only twenty-four thousand men*. The Russians, how-

ever, were repulsed from before the fortress of Choczim, which they had nearly acquired by the treachery of Ali Pasha, its commander. The plot being discovered, a reinforcement was introduced, and the Russians experienced a severe check. The Vizier, intoxicated with this unexpected piece of good fortune, advanced to the Polish frontiers, without provisions or necessary magazines; his vast forces were therefore occupied in plundering indiscriminately friends and foes. Necessitated to separate the army into three divisions, the corps of the Seraskier followed the route to Jassy; and encountering the Russians, they were completely overthrown, The Ottomans took to flight, and communicating the panic to those in the rear, under the Grand Vizier, they fled without having seen an enemy; and the whole army dispersing into Bessarabia and Moldavia, the victorious Galitzin invested Choczim. The Vizier at length rallied a corps which greatly outnumbered the Russians, with which he compelled Galitzin to raise the siege.

Mehemet Emir seems neither to have possessed the vigour of youth, nor the prudence of age; he was headstrong and presumptuous; and like many of his predecessors, relied implicitly on the guidance of astrologers. The plan of the campaign, however, had been arranged in the recesses of the Seraglio, and the Vizier was continually receiving orders from the Sultan which he could not execute, for which he was destined to answer with his head. Accordingly the head of Mehemet Effendi was in due course exposed at the Seraglio gate, with this inscription, "For not having followed the plan of the campaign regulated by the Sultan himself."

The successor of Mehemet was Moldovandgi, whose military talents had elevated him to the Viziriat. He proposed to efface at one blow the disasters of his predecessors, and he prepared to pass the river Dniester even in sight of Galitzin. Part of the Ottoman army had crossed the river; but at this critical moment, the torrents pouring down from the Krapuck mountains swelled the Dniester, and their bridges being carried away, the communications of the Ottomans were cut off. A panic seized the whole army. Pressed by the Russian forces, they threw themselves into the impetuous stream, and realised, by their ungovernable terror,

the fate which they dreaded. Despising all authority, and deaf to the Vizier's voice, men, horses, cannon, all were lost. Even the garrison of Choczim, which the swelling of the Dniester would have rendered unassailable, partook of the general cowardice, and left the gates of the fortress wide open, a prey to the Russians. Such were the events of the campaign of 1769. Catherine recalled Galitzin, to whom the success of her forces may be attributed, and placed Marshal Romanzoff in the command.

The Russian court now prepared to excite a more serious danger in the heart of the Ottoman empire; and presuming that a community of faith must awaken a community of feeling, it was secretly arranged to bring forward the Greeks, and to arm on the north and on the south, the Christian population of the Turkish provinces against their master.

Orloff, the favourite of Catherine, who had formerly served in the ranks of the Russian artillery corps, with Papaz Oglu, an obscure Greek, undertook, by the aid of that adventurer, to revive the spirit of freedom in the descendants of the Spartans and Athenians.

The population of the Morea in 1770, ranked about one hundred thousand Greek males, capable of bearing arms, while the Ottomans, reposing on their undisturbed possession, kept only about five thousand military in the various fortresses. Their treatment of Greece may be deemed haughty, but it was far from being oppressive; and the eager desire of the Mainotes and other inhabitants of the Morea, to chase away the Venetians, and to submit to their former masters, proves that they deemed the Ottoman yoke the easier of the two.

Papaz Oglu, proceeding on his mission, visited the Morea, and intriguing with Banakhi, the Primate of Calamata, esteemed by the people for his experience and opulence, he readily entered into the views of Oglu. A general rising in the Morea was arranged to take place, upon the appearance of a Russian force. Oglu had the audacity to report to St. Petersburg, that one hundred thousand Greeks were ready to aid the Russian arms.

The sagacity of Catherine does not appear very conspicuous in this transaction. Relying on the report of Oglu, she

ordered a Russian fleet to sail from the Baltic to the Egean Sea, and the Cyclades, the navigation of which was as unknown to the commander as the Euxine had been to the first Argonauts. It was in the summer of 1770, that seven Russian sail of the line, four frigates and a few transports, having on board about twelve hundred troops, cast anchor in the harbour of Coron. The Ottomans, startled and alarmed at the unexpected occurrence, far from thinking of defence, fled on every side to the fortresses; but the Russians were altogether unable to avail themselves of the panic which their appearance had created. The Greeks and the Russians had, however, mutually deceived each other. The Russians had conceived that on their mere appearance, the whole male population would take up arms; the Greeks had supposed that their services would be merely requisite as guides for an army equipped at all points. A few thousand men were collected together, under the pompous title of the Eastern and Western Legion of Sparta; and in the vain hope of extending the insurrection, they undertook to besiege Coron. The Turkish ministry had been advised of a maritime attack being in preparation by Russia; and when they heard that the Russian squadron had sailed, they persisted to the last, in preparing against an attack from the Black Sea. But as soon as they had accounts of the real fact, a motley armament, equipped in haste, was despatched under the command of the Capitan Pasha. The Russian force had quitted Coron, and taken possession of Navarino. The Turkish squadron, on the approach of the Russians, took to flight; one vessel only sustained the engagement, and returned the fire of the foe. Opposed to the whole squadron, the brave Turk succeeded in making a safe retreat under the cannon of Napoli. A single individual thus had retrieved the Ottoman character, who showed on this occasion traits worthy of Barbarossa; and that man became afterwards the support of the empire, under the title of Hassan Bey.

The struggle which the Ottoman empire sustained against the gigantic efforts of Catherine, is among the most important portions of its history. It clearly illustrates the genius and character of the Turks; and points out as forcibly the

increasing ambition of Russia to accomplish the destruction of Turkey, and to annex its valuable provinces to the Muscovite empire.

The distinguished character who, at this critical period, sustained the glory of the Ottoman name, was Hassan-bey. Born in Persia, and taken into captivity in his infancy by the Ottomans, he was sold to an inhabitant of Rodosto, a city of Propontis; here he signalized his hardihood and courage, and escaping in a Greek vessel, he enrolled himself among the mercenaries of Algiers. He quickly rose to power among those fierce and lawless pirates; and having excited the anger of the Regency, he sought refuge at Naples. Under the protection of Count Ludolf, ambassador from the King of the two Sicilies to the Sublime Porte, he became known to Ragheb Pasha, and was by him appointed to a command in the Ottoman marine, in 1764. He thus arrived at the post of Capitan of the flag of the Capitan Pasha. Hassan reunited the Ottoman fleet, and his daring spirit burned to pursue the Russian squadron, a step which his commander shrunk from adopting.

The Russian enterprise had entirely failed in its views of emancipating Greece; in the Morea, they possessed only Navarino and Mistra, when the Albanians, whom the Ottomans called to their aid, burst into the Peninsula to lay it waste with fire and sword. The city of Patras and every place which resisted, were laid in ashes; and the Russians, few in number, dispirited, and pressed on all sides, hastened to re-embark. The Greek chiefs of the insurrection also crowded to the vessels; and thus the whole Peninsula, and its abandoned and defenceless inhabitants, became a prey alike to Albanian pillage and Ottoman revenge.

The Capitan Pasha perceiving that a combat was inevitable, chose a skilful position, in the narrow strait separating the island of Chio from the Asiatic coast. He moored his fleet in such a position that they were guarded by batteries on shore, and flanked by shoals and rocks; and here he awaited the foe. It will at once be perceived that the position of the Turkish fleet very much resembled that of the French at Aboukir; and the results were not widely different from the victory of the Nile. The combat began with

great fury; and it is remarkable that the Capitan Pasha, at the very moment of the commencement of the battle, caused himself to be put on shore, on the pretext of establishing some batteries on the coast, at the same time that the generalissimo, Orloff, quitted his vessel to embark on board a frigate, which kept aloof during the whole action. The Capitan Pasha, however, was not needed when Hassan commanded. His vessel was attacked by the Russian Admiral's flag-ship, and a chance shot having carried away the rudder of the Russian ship, she drove down on the Capitan Pasha to board, and the contest became furious and bloody. Their decks were swept by musketry; and the hostile vessels were alternately taken and re-taken. Hassan, covered with wounds, was on the very point of capturing his enemy, when the Russian commander succeeded in setting the Turkish vessel on fire. The flames burst forth furiously and caught the Russian ship, the crew of which, to escape plunged into the sea. Hassan, after using every endeavour to extinguish the conflagration, adopted the same expedient, and accompanied by Achmet, an old companion and friend, he succeeded in gaining the shore. No sooner had the crews quitted the vessels, than the powder magazines exploded, and both of them were blown into the air. This terrible explosion terminated the contest for the present. Jaffer-bey, commander of a division, alarmed at the event, made signal to cut the cables and clear the enemy by keeping along the coast. While thus sailing along, he perceived in front of the port of Chio, the little bay of Tchesme, and heedful of nothing but present safety, he hastened to anchor under the guns of the fortress. The whole fleet followed, and crowded together into the same asylum. Hassan, wounded and scorched by the flames, made his way on foot to Tchesme, to exhort the imprudent Ottomans instantly to leave so dangerous a position. The Capitan Pasha, however, had decided to avoid another engagement, and obstinately refused to listen to the remonstrances and entreaties of Hassan. He forbade any ship to put to sea; the batteries on the shore were increased; and his position appeared impregnable, but it was not so. The Russians perceived his infatuation, with as much astonishment as joy,

and they hastened to take advantage of it. While a few ships, by a feigned attack, occupied the attention of the Turkish fleet, two fire-ships, conducted by English officers who served under Elphinstone the Russian Commander, were conducted into the midst of the bay; the crews having lighted the train, hastily retired to the larger vessels, and no sooner were they on board than the Russian ships withdrew from the scene of danger. They had scarcely time to leave the bay, when the flames burst forth and set on fire four large Turkish vessels. These becoming ungovernable, drifted down upon the fleet: all the ships became mixed together—each caught fire successively, and the whole port of Tchesme became an ocean of flame. The cannon which were shotted, exploded as the flames reached them, and battered down the fortresses and buildings. At last, as the fire reached the powder magazines, ship after ship exploded, and was blown in fragments into the air; the whole heavens blazed with fiery projectiles—ropes, spars, and canvass, and torn fragments of the Turkish armament. The darkness of the night added to the grandeur and sublimity of the scene. The conflagration began about an hour after midnight, and lasted until six in the morning; and thus on the night of the 7th July 1770, the whole Ottoman fleet, composed of twenty-four vessels, several of which carried a hundred guns, was destroyed. Only one vessel of sixty guns escaped, but it was shortly after captured by the Russians.

The advice of Elphinstone was for an immediate advance through the Dardanelles to the walls of the Seraglio. Had this bold advice been followed, circumstances warrant the supposition that it might have been successful; but the conception was beyond the ideas of Orloff. Triumphant as was the success of the Russians, the results were trifling. Meantime, however, Constantinople was thrown into the greatest alarm. The fortresses of the Dardanelles being nearly useless and almost dismantled, Mustapha confided to the celebrated Baron de Tott to improve and strengthen these important defences. This French officer had repaired to Constantinople after the death of the Tartar Khan Krim Guary, and had carried with success the improvements of Europe into

the Turkish founderies and schools of instruction for the artillery. The Baron, reaching the capital, the important defences of which were intrusted to his care, sought for the Reis-effendi; and we may estimate, by an anecdote given by the Baron in his amusing although prejudiced work upon Turkey, what were the chief engagements of the Turkish minister at this critical period. The Baron found the mind of Ismail-bey entirely engrossed by the important engagement, of procuring two canary birds to sing the same air in concert.

The Russians, however, did not make any attempt for forcing the passage, when the Dardanelles lay defenceless and unguarded; and the Baron soon succeeded in arranging those batteries, which, in after times, proved how formidably they can act against the most courageous assailant.

In Moldavia the campaign had been equally unfavourable for the Turks. The Russians under Romanzoff attacked the Ottomans on the Pruth, and in a great battle, which took place nearly on the same ground formerly occupied by Peter the Great, the Turks were totally routed. Their camp, cannon, and seven thousand waggons with provisions and military stores, attested the victory of Cohoul, and erased the disgrace of the Pruth. The Grand Vizier re-passed the Danube, with scarcely five thousand men following the standard of the Prophet. The discomfited troops reached the capital at the very moment that the catastrophe of Tchesme had plunged the country in mourning. The victory of Cahoul cost the Ottoman Porte the strong fortress of Bender, which had resisted until the conquerors had taken possession solely of a heap of ruins. The mere alarm of the fall of Bender struck the Turkish forces with one of those panics so remarkably prevalent with their armies, and now becoming much more common and disastrous. These sudden and almost unaccountable panics are utterly ruinous to the military character of the Turks. In victory they are irresistible, but in defeat or disaster they are impotent. Without the slightest cause, except their own alarmed fears, the troops evacuated the positions they occupied on the left bank of the Danube; and the Russians who had always

hitherto been repulsed before Ismail with loss, now found this important fortress unguarded.

It required all the courage and firmness of Mustapha to contemplate steadily the dangers which surrounded his throne. The Ottoman empire threatened a speedy dissolution. Enemies surrounded her on all sides; and the army, undisciplined and disorganised, appeared to be no longer capable of successful resistance.

Catherine II., as politic as she was ambitious, sapped on all sides the basis of Turkish power; and the terror of the Russian name embraced the Danube and the Archipelago. The Tartar chiefs were disunited through the influence of Russian intrigue, and paved the way for the conquest of the Crimea. A Russian army issuing from Georgia marched on the Pashalik of Trebisond; where no foreign enemy had appeared since the days of Timour. Azoph was seized by the Russians, and their fleet ravaged the Euxine, and precluded the entrance of supplies for the capital by the Bosphorus: their naval forces took possession of Lemnos and shut up Constantinople on the south. Palestine had revolted from the Turkish rule, and Sheik Dahar lifted the standard of rebellion amid the mountains of Lebanon. In Egypt, the celebrated Ali-bey had chased the Pasha from Cairo, and aspired to acquire the power and rank of the Mameluke Soldans. Such were the perils which surrounded the throne of Mustapha; but though thus pressed on every side, the Ottoman empire constantly renewed its efforts, and exhibited that elastic energy which has ever characterised it. The Turks now offered a defensive although spirited resistance.

The real defence of the Turkish empire has been found by experience to be neither in the swamps of Moldavia, nor in the more important line of the Danube. The Grand Vizier, impressed with this idea, relinquished the principalities, and fortified the strong camp of Shumla, and maintained throughout the year a successful campaign amid the recesses of the Balkan.

The European sovereigns could not look with indifference on a contest that threatened one of the principal empires with destruction, and the aggrandisement of another which *had already* sufficiently indicated its power and the ambitious

spirit of conquest which animated its councils. An attempt therefore was made in 1772 to effect a peace between the belligerent powers with the concurrence of Austria and France. The pretensions of Russia, however, which required the *free navigation of the Bosphorus*, as well as the cession of the Crimea and the vast space between the Bog and the Dniester, were rejected by the Porte, and the indecisive campaign of 1773 followed.

The Vizier resolved to act entirely on the defensive—to maintain his position, and to watch the movements of the enemy. The Russians attempted to seize Silistria and to surprise Varna, but they were repulsed in both enterprises with serious loss. The public mind had become so sensitive—a clear indication of national weakness—that the very news merely of the approach of the enemy to Varna, spread a fright and alarm throughout Constantinople. Mustapha, regardless of a bodily disorder to which he was a prey, resolved in person to combat the enemy. The brave and enterprising Hassan, weary of the inaction of the maritime war, joined the land forces, and commanding a corps of cavalry, he so harassed the Russian army, that he drove them across the Danube, with the loss of their stores and cannon. We thus perceive, at every step in Turkish history, that, more than in any other European nation, the success of their arms depends entirely on the talent and energy of the commander, and the devoted confidence with which the troops repose in a daring and energetic leader.

At the moment of this return of prosperity, Mustapha closed his days. He had sustained with composure and dignity every reverse of his arms, and the long train of calamities which had broken in upon his empire; but his health gradually sunk under the constant disquietude of his mind. In his last moments he sent for Abdul Hamid, the last of the sons of Achmet III.; he confided to the young prince the projects which he had planned for the prosperity of his empire, and recommended him to continue the war, until he could conclude an honourable peace.

Mustapha evinced a firm and powerful mind, capable of entertaining the most useful and enlightened projects. His early education was wholly neglected, yet his views were

far beyond his ministers and his subjects in general. Superior to the prejudices of his people, he had commanded his son Selim to be inoculated, from which he was restrained solely by the remonstrances of his mother; for although we owe this inestimable discovery to the Ottomans, from whom it was transmitted to Europe through the talent and sagacity of Lady Wortley Montague, yet the fatalism of the East has obstructed its general application.

Mustapha founded at Constantinople, in 1764, the academy which bears his name. He repaired the magnificent mosque and library of Muhammed II., which had been injured by earthquakes; and having acquired the title of Gazi, or victorious, he erected at Constantinople the Mosque of Nour Mustapha. He died in the year 1774.

ABDUL HAMID.

Amid many dangers and reverses this Sultan ascended the Ottoman throne, on the 21st January, 1774. He had reached the age of fifty,—forty-four years of which he had spent in the confinement of the Seraglio; and during that seclusion he had occupied himself in copying the Koran and making bows and arrows. It may easily be supposed, that the splendours of a throne would dazzle the mind of one who had so long been confined to the obscurity of a prison; yet we find Abdul Hamid lending himself to encourage and support the military establishments and improvements of his uncle Mustapha; and in the spring of 1774, he was prepared with an immense mass of forces to defend his empire in the impending conflict. The Russians now encircled the Ottoman empire on the north and the east: from the Caucasus to the Danube, they pressed upon every point. Heraclius, who had received the principality of Georgia successively from Nadir Shah and the Ottoman Sultans, was flattered by the offer of an alliance with Catherine, and he hastened to rank himself as a vassal of the Russian throne. The Ottoman Porte still retained the important fortresses along the line of the Danube, commencing on the west at Belgrade, and terminating, near the mouths

of that important river, with Ismail, Kali, and Akerman; but these strongholds, of how much importance soever, did not tranquillize the Porte, who saw the empire laid open to invasion from the east. The Pasha of Scutari in the Adriatic sea, occupying the territory of Scandenberg, set at defiance the Capidgis, the firmans, and the enmity of the Porte. Ali Pasha, his successor, laid in Macedonia the foundations of an independency which he maintained for a quarter of a century. Asia Minor, and every part, indeed, of the Ottoman empire, exhibited the same picture of violence and disunion. Achmet ruled in Bagdad with almost absolute power, and Daher, the Sheik of Lebanon, held the pashalik of Acre, in defiance of the Porte.

The Russian empire, at this period was convulsed by the revolt of Pugatchiff; but it served only to evince the firmness and energy of the Empress. The army of Romanzoff being reinforced, he passed the Danube and proceeded to invest Silistria. The Turks, on this occasion, exhibited their wonted and fatal impatience; and with that unsteady valour which now characterized their onsets, they rushed forward to the attack, without having entrenched themselves, or used the necessary precautions for the safety of the army in case of the failure of the attack. The fanatical fury of the Ottomans sank before the steady discipline of their foe. Twenty thousand men, escorting a convoy of five thousand chariots, was attacked by Suwaroff and Kaminiski, and entirely routed. The lines of the Grand Vizier at Shumla, although they contained a numerous army, lay open to attack; and Romanzoff, with as much audacity as success, broke in by one of the openings, turned the Vizier's position, and stationed himself so as to cut off all communication between the Turkish army and its magazines, which were stationed at Varna. This rash but successful movement was attended with that success which had hitherto accompanied the Russian arms. The Turks, stupified and alarmed, and deaf alike to the orders and entreaties of their commander, were seized with such terror, that they mutually slaughtered each other. They fled promiscuously, and out of the vast host which had been concentrated within the

fortified camp of Shumla, scarcely twelve thousand men rallied around the standard of the Prophet. In this extremity the Vizier hastened to apprise his sublime master of the disastrous battle of Shumla. Fortunately for the Vizier, he had espoused an aunt of the Sultan; and the Mufti, to reconcile the event with the honour of the throne, declared by his festa, that "the Grand Vizier could not conquer without the aid of soldiers; and as his army had abandoned him, the Holy Prophet ordained that he should make peace." It would certainly have been unjust on this occasion, that the Vizier should have been required to answer with his head, for the defection of the soldiers. This practice, how inconsistent soever with justice and reason, had been of long standing; and we can only attribute the Vizier's escape to the easy facilities of a religion that can be directed for the accomplishment of either good or evil, by an unjust or selfish monarch, the clamours of the populace, or the designs of an intriguing priesthood.

The Russian general finding the Turkish camp fortified on all sides, was preparing his plans for an assault, when the Kiaia of Moussou Pasha appeared to demand a peace. The preliminaries were hastily arranged; and in the Russian camp of Kainardghi, about four leagues from Silistria, the treaty was signed on the drum-head, on the 21st July, 1774.

By this treaty Russia retained only the tract between the Bog and the Dniester, known by the name of New Servia; the forts of Yenikali and Kertesh, in the Crimea; and the fortress of Kilburn, at the embouchure of the Dnieper opposite to the town of Oczakow. Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Grecian Isles, were restored to the Porte. The most important feature of the treaty was the free admission of Russian merchant vessels to the navigation of the Bosphorus, and the declaration of the independence of the Krim Tartars, which was, in fact, the virtual surrender of this important province to the Russian empire. The Russian Cabinet had long coveted this valuable acquisition. Austria gained, by the same treaty, the Buckowina, a cession which, in itself, added little to the disgrace, nor did it materially increase the losses of the Ottoman empire.

Thus terminated the war of 1768, begun by Mustapha

with the generous view of emancipating the Polish nation. But this peace might well fill the Porte with suspicion and fear. The peace of Kainardghi, indeed, could only be regarded as an armed truce. The fierce and intrepid warrior, Hassan Pasha, might be seen daily at the arsenal giving orders and directing the warlike preparations, accompanied by a young lion which he fondled as a fit companion, and soon a numerous fleet displayed the crescent on the waters of the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile the Turkish ministers hastened to gather in a harvest of confiscations, and to punish the rebels whom the war had permitted to increase with impunity. Ali-bey, Sheik Daher, and the Waivode of Moldavia, fell under the dagger or the bowstring. Hassan-bey desolated the Morea by the most unsparing executions; and in testimony of his barbarity, he erected a pyramid of human heads. It was thus that the Ottoman Sultan attempted to reconcile his disaffected subjects, and to unite their sympathies with the throne at a time when the nation was surrounded on all sides by ambitious and powerful enemies.

Events in the Crimea, the result of the intrigues of Catherine, excited the germs of discontent, and soon led to a new war. The Porte was decidedly inclined to peace; but the restless, intriguing, and ambitious nature of the Empress Catherine, who had now acquired unbounded sway in Russia, and whose armies had so frequently evinced their superiority over the tumultuary levies of the Turks, had resolved upon a further aggression on the Ottoman state.

The Khan Dewlet Guary attached to the Porte, alarmed by the defection of some powerful tribes of Tartars, fled from the Crimea; and scarcely had he disappeared, than he was replaced by Saim Guary, a prince strongly biassed to the Russian interests. The Porte was compelled to yield to this appointment, or to proceed to the more dangerous alternative of war. Having succeeded in nominating a Khan to the Crimea, a pretext, how flimsy soever, was not long awaiting for seizing upon the territory itself.

The gold and agents of Russia excited domestic troubles in his territory, and Saim Guary appealed to the Empress, which brought about the very crisis which the Cabinet of

St. Petersburg desired. The divan itself was no stranger to these feuds; but the Turks were so far behind the Muscovites in diplomatic intrigue, that they were not aware that the Russians were the chief agents in stirring up the quarrels in the territory of the Khan. The Porte certainly would not have aided in fomenting dissensions in the government of Guary, had it been aware that Russia alone would gather the fruits.

Prince Potemkin, the favourite of Catherine II., appeared on the scene at the head of sixty thousand troops. The divan, on its part, despatched a Pasha to secure possession of the isle of Taman, which was merely a precautionary measure; but Saim Guary, at the instigation of Russia, summoned the Pasha and his troops to retire; the fierce and impolitic Ottoman, as an answer to the Khan, decapitated his envoy, upon which, Prince Potemkin declared, that the insult thus shown to the ally of his sovereign, should be punished, and he demanded a passage through the peninsula to the isle of Taman. The Khan had no sooner opened the passage of the Crimea than the Russian troops spread themselves over the whole country. Kaffa was taken by surprise, the Imauns, Mirzahs, and Tartar chiefs, were conducted before Potemkin, and demanded to take the oaths of allegiance to his sovereign. Suwaroff overran the Budjak and Kuban; the unfortunate Khan, alarmed and betrayed, transmitted an act of abdication to St. Petersburg. He accepted as an equivalent, a pension of eight hundred thousand rubles. To crown this perfidious transaction, the pension was repudiated by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Justice or honour had as little to do with the councils of Russia then, as at the present day; and their tenacious adherence to the perfidy, ambition, and cunning, established by those princes whose policy they revere, is perhaps not one of the least remarkable features in their national character.

The natural fury of the Turks was excited with these transactions, and a general cry for war arose; but the divan was not prepared to risk his armies against the formidable preparations of Russia. A new treaty was therefore signed at Constantinople, in 1784, whereby the Tartars

were recognised as subjects of the Empress. Russia thus acquired dominion over a million and a half of warlike Tartars, and Catherine ennobled her acquisitions by the titles of Taurida and the Caucasus.

The Khan soon became an object of contempt to both parties, and after remaining a while in the suite of Potemkin, he was enticed by the insidious invitations of the divan to visit Constantinople. No sooner had he arrived at the capital, than the Ottomans revenged the loss of their Tartar provinces by his execution.

The vicissitudes in the fate of empires had brought round to the Ottoman throne the same terror of the Autocrat which the Paleologi formerly had endured from the first Sultans of the Ottoman race. The slightest step of their perfidious neighbour produced the utmost alarm in Constantinople and in the Seraglio.

Catherine, whose pride was as unbounded as her ambition, marked her political contact with the Turks, by the most irritative expedients that female pride could adopt. She passed through these newly acquired provinces, with all the glare of a triumphal procession; the assemblage and review of large bodies of troops, and the pageants of several crowned heads and the corps diplomatique attended the progress of the Empress. The Turks took alarm; and Asia poured forth its myriads to form a rampart against the haughty ambition of Russia. The imperial interviews in the Taurida were shortened by the ominous cloud now hanging over Europe, which soon became plunged in a series of wars and revolutions, such as had hitherto been unknown in the records of modern history. The excitement of the Turks, however, could not be allayed. It was in vain that the Empress sought to continue the peace, so necessary to the security of those political objects which demanded her attention. The idle bravado of inscribing on the portal of a gate of Cherson, "the route to Byzantium," had fixed a rankling thorn in the minds of the Turks which could not be extracted; every explanation, however moderate and reasonable, was suspected, and war was proclaimed.

Kilbourn, a fortress on the Dnieper, was occupied by the Russians, under the command of Suwaroff, and thither the

Ottomans directed their attack. The cautious Russian allowed the Turks to approach as far as the glacis, when a terrible combat commenced, which, after continuing twelve hours, ended in the destruction of the Turkish detachment. This successful repulse further increased the terror of Suwaroff's name. Joseph II., at the same time, and without issuing a declaration of war, made an assault upon Belgrade; and the news of the failure of the attack upon the Russian position, and the unexpected hostility of Austria, reached the capital at the same time.

Such was the energy which the Porte at this serious crisis displayed, that the armies of Joussouff Pacha, the Vizier, exceeded in a great degree the forces of the Russian and the Imperial crowns; and at the same time, the redoubtable Hassan, with a powerful fleet, conveyed twenty thousand men to reconquer the Crimea. All these efforts were well nigh rendered unavailing in consequence of the revolt of the troops, which, more than ever, had become so frequent and dangerous, that a cautious and disciplined enemy might almost to a certainty calculate upon success. The Vizier could find no other means to control the refractory soldiery than by placing them in dangers and leading them to combats. A strong corps crossed the Danube, and forced the passes of Salatina, invaded the Bannat, and swept it of its inhabitants, who were dragged into slavery beyond the Bosphorus. The imperialists were repulsed on all sides, and the Ottoman arms spread terror to the very gates of Vienna. Marshal Loudhon was called to the command of the imperial armies, under whose direction the disasters of 1787 were redeemed.

In their naval operations, the Turks were not so successful. Part of the Russian fleet was commanded by the intrepid Paul Jones, and a second detachment by the Prince of Nassau. Hassan, who, upon this occasion, showed more bravery than prudence, engaged his fleet in a canal filled with dangerous shoals, where three of his largest vessels grounded; and in the midst of the confusion, a masked battery, constructed by Suwaroff on the Dnieper, completed the destruction of the Ottoman flotilla. A second effort was even more unpropitious. The Prince of Nassau took, *burnt or sunk* fifteen sail of the line or frigates, and more

than eleven thousand Ottomans perished or were made prisoners. The wrecks of the Turkish armament took shelter under the cannon of Oczakow.

Prince Potemkin had resolved on the destruction of this fortress, and he commenced the siege with a force of eighty thousand men. The walls were completely decayed, and most of the guns dismantled; and, indeed, such was the condition of the place, that the Russian commander did not think that it could hold out many days. Such, however, was the obstinacy with which the Turks defended the shattered ramparts, that the siege lasted four months. The garrison, roused to enthusiasm, exhibited many remarkable examples of courage and devotion. Seven horsemen were one morning seen issuing from the fortress; the Russians carelessly watched their movements, when all at once they darted with fury upon a Russian regiment. The Muscovites, struck with their courage, would fain have saved the small but heroic band, but the obstinate and dauntless attack of the Ottoman horsemen compelled the Russians to bayonet them.

The final assault was made on the 6th December, 1788. Nearly the whole garrison were slain sword in hand: the slaughter lasted three days; a third of the Russian army had perished from cold, or disease, or by the sword; twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants and the garrison was the sacrifice of the Turks. With this bloody triumph, more glorious to the Turks than to their conquerors, Potemkin terminated the campaign.

Abdul Hamid died in the spring of 1789, at the age of sixty-four, and Selim III., the only son of the Sultan Mustapha, mounted the imperial throne at the age of twenty-five.

SELIM III.

The Janizaries being assembled by Selim in the great plains of Sophia, it appeared to him that the German Emperor was not invincible. The Bannat had been depopulated, ravaged, and burnt, and England succeeded to ex-

cite an ally for the Porte in the king of Sweden, who assembled an army in Finland, and a fleet of twenty sail of the line in the Baltic. The good fortune of Catherine, at this juncture, was conspicuous. The Swedish declaration of war, preceded only by four days the execution of the orders given for the sailing of the Cronstadt fleet for the Archipelago. Had this fleet sailed only a few days earlier, Gustavus would have been left master of the Baltic—the Russian ports without a navy, and the capital without defence. It was evidently imprudent on the part of Catherine to have ordered her whole disposable fleet to a distant sea, and to leave her coasts and capital totally at the mercy of her enemies; and so little had she calculated on the intrigues of England and the hostility of Sweden, that the hour for the sailing of the fleet had actually been fixed. In this instance we perceive that the greatest monarchs and the most successful diplomatists are often indebted to favourable coincidences that lie far beyond the reach of their calculations. Catherine gloried in opposing herself to difficulties; and despising the hostility of the Turks in the south, she instantly despatched the fleet under Admiral Greig, originally destined for the Archipelago, to combat Gustavus, while an army was concentrated with incredible activity on the borders of Finland. The hostile fleets engaged in a doubtful action; which, together with the revolt of his army before Fredericksham, disgusted the king of Sweden with the war. He hastily retired to Stockholm, and Catherine was preserved from encountering the most imminent foreign danger of her reign.

The Russian army under Potemkin comprised nearly all the effective force of the empire. Selim had reinforced the Ottoman army by an addition of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The command of the Ottomans was given to the Pasha of Widdin. The Porte now received the submission of the rebellious Pasha of Albania, who, faithful to Islamism, sent to the Porte the heads of the unfortunate German officers who had been deputed by the court of Vienna, to negotiate a treaty favourable to their master.

The campaign of 1789 commenced inauspiciously for the Turks. The prince of Cobourg left his winter quarters in

Gallicia, and advanced into Moldavia, along the right bank of the Sirath; Suwaroff, moving at the same time from Jassey, prepared to support him. Forty thousand Ottomans pressed forward to attack the combined forces, and the battle took place on the 21st July. The new tactics which the Russians and Austrians had adopted were conspicuous on this occasion, and proved the utter inability of the Turkish mode of warfare to compete with modern discipline. The allied forces were divided into small squares, with cannon placed at the angles. The moment the spahis penetrated the intervals between these squares, they were immediately overthrown by a fire on either flank, from the squares and batteries of the allies. The Ottomans were entirely overthrown; their stores and immense magazines became a prey to the victors. The commander of the Turks was none other than the intrepid Hassan, who, from being a Capitan Pasha, had become a general; but destiny had ravaged from him victory alike by land and sea.

But the Grand Vizier, who was approaching with a hundred thousand men, determined that the enemy were not thus easy to retain the fruits of the victory. The prince of Cobourg approached the Turkish army, and Suwaroff, who had been separated from him, appeared at Rimnik, at the very instant the two hostile armies were preparing to engage.

This battle was fought on the same plain where Bajazet I. overthrew the Hospidar Stephen. The hostile armies were greatly disproportioned in point of numbers. The Ottoman army consisted of a hundred thousand, while the allies hardly numbered twenty-five thousand combatants. The plains of Rimnik were distinguished by one of the most decisive victories of the war; twenty-five thousand Turks perished; the whole of their battering-train and stores were taken; and the broken remnants of their vast army, threw themselves partly into the fortress of Brahilow, and partly into the intrenched camp of Shumla. Hassan assumed the command; but it must have appeared evident to this indomitable chief, that he did not possess the means of averting the disastrous consequences of the late defeat. Bucharest yielded to the arms of the prince of Cobourg. Belgrade capitulated; and

there no longer existed any fortress but Nissa between the victors and the capital of the Sultan Selim.

Towards the mouths of the Danube the Russians passed on from triumph to triumph. Bender opened her gates; Koutoukai, Galatz, and Akerman were occupied by Suwaroff, whose army formed the siege of Ismail. In these disastrous circumstances, all the states of Europe secretly or openly espoused the interests of the divan against the ambitious projects of Russia. They might well be alarmed, for the court of St. Petersburg intended nothing short of the total subversion of the Ottoman power. At this period Joseph II. descended to the tomb, and by this event the dangers of Turkey were averted. Leopold, discovering that the treasures and strength of his empire had been exhausted in the pursuit of objects foreign to the interests of his people, resumed merely a defensive position.

Catherine, haughty and indignant, refused the pacification proposed by the European courts; and disdaining the appearance of submitting to dictation, she despatched orders to her generals, and the campaign of 1790 commenced.

In every quarter the same unfortunate consequences to the Turks attended the war. Their armies were defeated in every engagement, and their remaining fortresses wrested from their grasp. The Russian squadrons swept the Black sea, and intercepted all supplies of corn for the capital. Such disasters, so closely approximating to the capital, excited universal murmurs and discontent. Nightly conflagrations took place. Selim, naturally noble, cheerful, and just, became, from these repeated disasters, morose and cruel. The capture of Ismail carried his terror to the highest pitch.

This important fortress, which Suwaroff had been desired by Potemkin to take at any cost, was garrisoned by forty thousand men. This is in many respects one of the most memorable sieges on record. The fortress was assaulted by an energy and violence of effort which has scarcely a parallel; and the capture was followed by a massacre which filled Europe with horror, and exists as a perpetual stain upon the memory of the savage barbarian who perpetrated it. The garrison also was animated by a heroism scarcely if ever surpassed; the very women disputed the place, poniard in

hand, from house to house. Fifty thousand Mussulmans, with their valiant commander, fell in the defence. The frost, at the time being so severe, as not to allow the interment of the dead, six days were employed in casting the bodies of the slain into the Danube. "The Russian flag floats on the ramparts of Ismail," was the laconic despatch of Suwaroff, announcing the event to Potemkin. The spoils and plunder of the city were immense; but the blood-stained trophy which signalised this memorable siege—the most murderous and most terrible of modern times—has imprinted an indelible stain upon the annals of Russian conquests.

The alarming news of the fall of Ismail produced all the appearance of a revolt in the capital; the Sultan became the more and more invisible to the discontented populace; the Ulema endeavoured to allay their fears, by announcing that every Mussulman slain in the defence of Ismail, merited the paradise of the Prophet. Selim, moved by the menaces of the people, sullied his reign by an execution, which every mind that sympathises with a noble, disinterested, and generous enthusiasm must regret. The brave and aged Hassan had been made Grand Vizier; but his Viziriat became the threshold of the tomb.

The execution of Hassan was equally unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic; for his death served only to increase the alarm and discontent of the Ottoman forces. This brave warrior, after a life marked by exploits almost equal to those of fabulous story, was condemned to expiate misfortunes which no single arm could avert; and the condemnation which abridged his glorious career, can find no plausible apology.

An unlooked for event, which sometimes breaks in and dispels the misfortunes of nations, occurred at this unfortunate period to the Ottomans, and alike revived their hopes and dispelled their fears. Leopold signed a peace on the most advantageous terms for the Porte, on the 4th April, 1791. Belgrade, and all the Austrian conquests were restored with the exception of the temporary cession of the city of Choczim.

The Empress Catherine being now desirous of peace, a treaty was signed at Jassey on the 9th January, 1792.

The stipulations of the treaty of Kainardgy were renewed; the river Dniester was recognised as the frontier of the two empires; Oczakow was ceded to Russia, with the large space comprised between the Bog and the Dniester, on which soon arose the important city and establishments of Odessa; the cession of the Crimea, of the isle of Taman, and part of the Kuban, were again formally confirmed, with an indemnity of twelve millions of piastres, for the expenses of the war. On her part the Empress restored all her other conquests, and as soon as the treaty was signed, she renounced the payment of the money, declaring herself satisfied with the recognition of its justice. The most important article of the treaty was the concession to Russian ships to enter the straits of the Bosphorus, and navigate the Black sea; henceforth, under the Russian flag, foreign vessels of other nations, and especially Greeks, found an effectual protection.

This war, which threatened the total overthrow of the Ottoman empire, was ended with only a trifling loss. Oczakow and a portion of territory were the results—an extremely slender concession compared with the fear entertained throughout the state during the continuance of the war. Such a fortunate escape, however, cannot be attributed either to the military power or diplomatic skill of the Porte; far less to the justice or generosity of Catherine. The menacing appearance of the political horizon in 1792, alone determined the court of St. Petersburg to sign a favourable peace.

At this period the French revolution established and enforced its principles, and overturned a throne which had stood erect during fourteen centuries. Such an event, arising in the west of Europe, in a state the most powerful and enlightened in Christendom, might well make the most powerful monarch tremble; and the results of this fearful conflagration, more than realized the fears of the most speculative politician or the most alarmed potentate. The wisdom of Catherine—nay, all the statesmen and all the philosophy of Europe, could not foretell that with the destruction of the ancient capital of the Muscovite empire, twenty years afterwards, the triumphs of the revolution would cease, or that in the heart of Russia, the star of the revolu-

tionary hero, who had trampled upon nearly all the states in Europe, would first begin to wane.

The Ottoman troops, during the late wars had usually been dispersed by armies far inferior to them in point of numbers, which clearly demonstrated to the Ottoman government the superiority of the European system in military science and tactics. But although the necessity of reform was thus strongly demonstrated, the difficulty and danger of effecting any organic change in a system hallowed by time and religion, and deeply engrafted on the feelings of the people, became equally apparent. The dangerous insubordination of the Janizaries, and the blindness and ignorance of the populace, rendered the attempt difficult, if not impossible. The difficulties were still increased by the Pashas of the empire, who, perceiving the dangers that surrounded the state, sought only to benefit themselves, by securing their independency in their respective pashaliks. Thus Bagdad, Bassorah, Aleppo, Acre, Albania, and others, disregarded the firmans of the Sublime Porte, while the Wahabites of Arabia succeeded in occupying the whole of the sacred territory, and set at defiance the orders and menaces of the Ottoman court. The peace, therefore, which had been concluded with Russia was far from healing all the disorders that afflicted the Ottoman empire. The reverses and defeats which their arms had sustained, and the usual clamours and discontents of the people consequent upon these disasters, had disorganised the whole internal movements of the government. In this state of matters the Porte contented itself with winking at the insubordination of the various Pashas, and resolved to wait a future day of retribution.

Selim as well as his ministers knew the imperative necessity of introducing a new and renovating system into the Turkish armies, without which it seemed impossible that she could maintain her power as a nation: yet every step brought the government into the most imminent dangers. Europe throughout was convulsed to the centre by the terrible wars and changes which arose out of the events following the commencement of the French revolution. It became there-

fore the desire of the Ottoman government to keep aloof altogether from the storm.

Meanwhile the Ottoman state was embroiled in civil war, which even more than her foreign enemies threatened the destruction of the empire.

Paswan Oghi, Pasha of Widdin, openly espoused the determination of the Janizaries to resist all attempts at improving their discipline, and thus Paswan soon became a character of national importance. The grandfather of this chief was a chimney-sweeper in the city of Widdin on the Danube. Paswan had been early instructed in the military and political science of his country; and being possessed of great activity of mind and a violent temper, coupled with a rooted and immovable bigotry, he rendered himself through his arts and address, a great favourite with the soldiers and the people. Circumstances occurred that induced Paswan to take up arms against the government, and he soon became so formidable, that all the strength of the Ottoman empire failed in reducing him to obedience. Death arrested the career and projects of this powerful and dangerous chief, and dissolved the confederacy of the discontented soldiery, and the cities returned immediately to their wonted obedience.

Czerni Georges, copying the example of Paswan, became the actor of similar excesses in Servia. Born of obscure parents at Belgrade, his first resistance of legitimate rule arose from a dread of punishment for having blown out the brains of a Turk. He soon collected a band of desperate characters, who became noted for courage and success. No obstacles deterred, no menaces daunted him. Pursuing a career of personal hatred against the Turks as the oppressors of his country, he excited the vengeance of the Ottoman government against the whole of their Servian subjects. His father Georges, venerable by age, sought by every means to allay the implacable hatred of his son to the Ottoman rule, and used every effort in his power to persuade him to return to obedience. Georges even accompanied Czerni until they reached the first post of the enemy, and threatening to reveal the haunts of his son and his rebel band to the Pasha of Belgrade, Czerni exclaimed, "Inflexible old man, thou shalt neither betray thy son nor thy country," on

which he instantly shot him through the head. Czerni in the following wars became a formidable enemy to the Turks, by favouring the Russians, which, in fact, deprived the Turks of their strongest defences on the Danube.

The French Directory manifesting a desire to cultivate with the Porte the relations of amity that had so long subsisted, accredited to Constantinople General Aubert Dabayet, in 1796, as their ambassador. He bore to the Sultan a new and interesting present—a train of artillery—in the highest state of equipment, with officers and artillery men qualified to instruct the Topegis, and to improve the foundries for cannon at Tophana. Officers competent to discipline and instruct the corps of Janizaries and spahis also accompanied the ambassador. The endeavours of the French were zealously aided by the exertions and example of the Sultan, but they were viewed with suspicion and discontent by the Janizaries. A new corps was formed and disciplined in the new tactics; and the last acts of the injured Hassan was to endeavour to naturalize this beneficial change; and by his liberality and favour he formed a regular battalion of infantry. They became the objects of the raileries and menaces of the Janizaries, although their number never exceeded six hundred men. These, however, few as they were, rendered important services to their country in their memorable defence of Acre.

Involved in perils by the disastrous events of the Russian campaigns; his authority disputed by the powerful Pashas, and thwarted in every endeavour to infuse plans of renovation into his forces; the Sultan beheld every danger heightened, and his empire brought into collision with the struggles and warfare of Europe, by the French invasion of Egypt.

SKETCH OF EGYPT.

Egypt became a province of the Turkish empire in 1517, and was now destined to be the theatre of many memorable exploits.

Among all the ancient nations which have been distin-

guished in history, there is none more worthy of notice than the kingdom of Egypt. If not the birth-place, it was the early protector of the sciences; and cherished every species of knowledge which was known or cultivated in remote times. It was the principal source from which the Grecians derived their information, and after all its manifold windings and enlargements, we may still trace the stream of our knowledge to the banks of the Nile. Every ancient nation lays claims to a higher origin than legitimate history can sanction. Egypt extends its claims to a most distant and fabulous period. But independent of the antiquity of Egypt and the many remarkable events of which it has been the theatre, it is one of the most singular countries in the world, not only from its geographical position, but its physical conformation. It consists entirely of the valley of the Nile, which taking its rise in the mountains of Abyssinia, travels the arid deserts of Africa, and falls into the Mediterranean Sea, after a course of two thousand five hundred miles. The Nile, after receiving the tributary waters of the Bahr-el-Abiad, precipitates itself by the cataracts of Sennaar, into the lower valley, six hundred miles long, which forms the country of Egypt. This valley, though of such immense length, is in general only from three to eighteen miles in breadth, and is bounded on either side by the rocky mountains of the deserts. Its habitable and cultivated portion is entirely confined to that part of the surface which is overflowed by the inundations of the stream. As far as the water rises, the soil is of extraordinary fertility; beyond it, the glowing desert alone is to be seen. At the distance of about one hundred and fifty miles from the sea, the Nile divides itself into two branches, which fall into the Mediterranean, one at Rosetta, the other at Damietta; the space which these two streams enclose, is called the Delta, which, from the well known inundations of the Nile, has acquired an extraordinary degree of richness. These floods, arising from the warmth of spring, followed by the melting of the snow and heavy rains of July and August in the mountains of Abyssinia, cause the river to rise gradually during a period of nearly three months. The inundations begin in May, and attain the height of sixteen to eighteen feet about the

end of August. Centuries may elapse without more than a shower of dazzling mist moistening the surface of Egypt; hence cultivation can only be extended beyond the level to which the water rises, by artificial irrigation; and the efforts made in this respect by the ancient inhabitants, constitute, perhaps, the most wonderful of the many monuments of industry which they have left to succeeding ages.

No sooner have the floods retired, than the soil, covered to a considerable depth by a rich slime, is cultivated and sown; and the seed vegetating quickly in that rich mould, and under a tropical sun, springs up, and in three months yields a hundred, and sometimes a hundred and fifty fold. During the winter months the plain is covered with rich harvests, besprinkled with flowers, and dotted with flocks; but in March the great heat begins, the earth cracks, vegetation disappears, and the country is fast relapsing into the sterility of the desert, when the annual floods of the Nile again cover it with their vivifying waters.

In ancient times Egypt and Libya, it is well known, were the granary of Rome. All the productions of the temperate and torrid zone flourish in this favoured region. Besides the ordinary grains of Europe, Egypt produces the finest crops of rice, maize, sugar, indigo, cotton and senna. Few trees, however, are to be seen over its vast extent. Its horses are celebrated for their beauty, their spirit, and their incomparable docility; and it possesses also that wonderful animal the camel, which treads without fatigue the moving sands; and by its assistance, the natives traverse, as with a living ship, the ocean of the desert.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt by the Mahometans, it is said to have contained twenty millions of souls, including those who dwelt in the adjoining oases of the desert; but at the period of the French expedition, the population of the country consisted of only two millions and a half. To an unstable and tyrannical government, and to the general decay of all the great establishments for watering the country, which the wisdom of antiquity had constructed, we may ascribe the decrease of population, the present limited extent of agriculture, and the perpetual encroachments which the sands of the desert are making on the regions of

human cultivation. Alexandria is situated at one of the old mouths of the Nile, now choked up with sand. The harbour, capable of containing all the navies of Europe, can admit vessels drawing twenty-one feet of water; but the entrance of the harbours of Rosetta and Damietta has only six feet on the bar.

When the Turks took possession of Egypt, the importance of that country was not appreciated by them; the savage thirst of conquest alone, hurried them onward. Two of the greatest conquerors, Alexander in ancient, and Napoleon Buonaparte in modern times, were fully impressed with its vast importance. The great Leibnitz, in the time of Louis XIV., pointed out Egypt as the place where the real blow was to be struck for the subjugation of the Dutch. "There," said he, "you will find the true commercial route to India; you will wrest that lucrative trade from Holland." "The possession of Egypt," he adds, "will open a prompt communication with the richest countries of the East. It will unite the commerce of the Indies to that of France, and pave the way for great captains to march to conquests worthy of Alexander." These ideas, however, were beyond the age, and they lay dormant till revived by the genius of Napoleon. To no country in the world is the independence of Egypt of such vital importance, as to Great Britain. Napoleon was fully aware of this; and independent of the romantic ideas of Oriental conquest, which from an early period filled his mind, it was his favourite opinion through life, that Egypt was the true line of communication with India; and that it was there that the English power could alone be seriously affected.

The discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope wrested the commerce of the East from its ancient channels; and for a time the possession of Egypt may have appeared comparatively worthless to any European power. The recent conquests, however, of Great Britain in the East, and the vast empire which she has established there, render the channel of communication by the Nile, of paramount importance, and fully justify her in watching with the most jealous eye, the intrigues or encroachments of any power, having *even a remote tendency to disturb the existing state of*

things in Egypt and the adjoining states. The extension of steam-power by land and sea appears to be destined to restore the communication with the East to its original channel. The construction of a railway or canal to Suez will open a direct communication between the Mediterranean and the Red sea ; and thus the commerce of the East may again flow into the channels which nature seems to have formed for its reception.

FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

After the republican armies of France had vanquished Holland, shaken the power of Austria, overthrown the states of Venice, and trampled upon the independence of Italy, many inferior states sued for protection ; and at Campo-Formio, upon the 17th October, 1797, a treaty was entered into between the Emperor of Austria and the Republic of France. Elated with conquest, France had been threatening the independence of Great Britain, and attempted to wound her on the part of Ireland, where many discontents were already brooding.

After the peace of Campo-Formio, the public were more than ever amused at the designs of France against Great Britain ; but while the attention of Britain was directed to that quarter, preparations were secretly making at Toulon for a great and important expedition.

Whether the originating impulse of the expedition to Egypt, arose out of the design to convert that fertile country into a French colony ; or whether the Directory framed it to rid themselves of a general whom they feared ; or whether Napoleon himself suggested the expedition in order to escape for a time from the gaze of the Parisians, and to dazzle his countrymen with new and romantic conquests, in lands renowned in fabulous story, and hallowed in history both sacred and profane ; or whether he really meditated the founding of a new dynasty in the East, of rivalling the conquests of Alexander, and returning in triumph to Paris by the Bosphorus and the Alps ; whatever be the true causes, the French expedition was as unprincipled an attack as could be

made upon a friendly power—a power always fulfilling to France the duties of a zealous ally.

It was on the 19th May 1798, that the formidable armament,—consisting of 13 ships of the line, two of 64 guns, 14 frigates, 72 brigs and cutters, and 400 transports, and bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers of all arms, and above ten thousand sailors,—set sail from Toulon. On the 16th of June, the strongly fortified island of Malta was surrendered, through the defection and treachery of the Knights. “It is well, general,” said Caffarelli to Napoleon, “that there was one within to open the gates to us; we should have had more trouble in entering if the place had been altogether empty.”

Having arranged the affairs of that settlement, the French fleet set sail again upon the 19th of June, and directed its course towards Egypt.

The success which had attended Napoleon's intrigues with the Knights of Malta, induced him to extend his views beyond Egypt, for the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. With this view he secretly despatched his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Ali Pasha, the most powerful of the European vassals of the Porte, to endeavour to stimulate him to revolt. He bore a letter from the French general, in which Napoleon urged him to enter into an immediate concert for measures calculated to subvert the Ottoman empire. The crafty Greek, however, did not enter into the proposed alliance, and accordingly this attempt to shake the throne of the Grand Seignior failed of effect.

While secretly conducting these intrigues, as well as openly assailing one of the provinces of their empire, both Napoleon and the Directory left nothing untried to prolong the slumber of the Ottoman government, and to induce them to believe that the French had no hostile designs whatever against them, and that they were in reality inimical only to the Beys, the common enemy of both. With this view, Napoleon wrote to the Grand Vizier a letter full of assurances of the friendly dispositions both of himself and his government, and the eternal alliance of the Republic with the Mussulmans; and that the object of the Directory was to erect a barrier of defence of which the Ottoman empire stood

so much in need, against its natural enemies who were leaguering together for its destruction.

The movements of the French were not unknown to the British government, and Admiral Nelson was appointed to the command of a squadron to watch the movements of the French fleet. Having looked into the harbour of Toulon, and found they had escaped, he immediately sailed towards Egypt, whither it was supposed they had directed their course. Having learned at Malta that they had departed for Egypt, he crowded sail and stood after the fleet of Brueys. The French admiral steered his course along the northern coast of the Mediterranean, while Nelson kept near the African shore. On this account, Nelson arrived off the coast of Egypt before the French fleet made its appearance, and not thinking it expedient to wait upon that station, he steered his course into the Levant. Soon after his departure, the French fleet appeared upon the Libyan shore, a few leagues westward of Alexandria. The friends of the Grand Seigneur and the Mameluke beys, were equally alarmed at the arrival of the unwelcome visitors.

Such was the ability of Talleyrand, who had been appointed ambassador at Constantinople, that he succeeded in impressing upon the Divan the perfidious delusion of Napoleon and the Directory. Proportionally great was the general indignation when accounts arrived of the invasion of Egypt. Preparations for war were made with the utmost activity; the French chargé-d'affairs, Ruffin, was sent to the Seven Towers; and the indignation of the Divan brought forth one of those eloquent manifestoes, which a sense of perfidious injustice seldom fails to produce among the honest though illiterate rulers of mankind. After pointing out the treachery and dissimulation practised by the French on the Turkish government, the manifesto says, "And now, as if to demonstrate to the world that France makes no distinction between its friends and its enemies, it has in the midst of a profound peace with Turkey, and while still professing to the Porte the sentiments of friendship, invaded, without either provocation, complaint, or declaration of war, but after the usage of pirates, Egypt, one of the most valuable

provinces of the Ottoman empire, from which, to this hour, it has received only marks of friendship."

The landing of the French army was instantly begun. Buonaparte himself led the way; and without waiting till the whole forces were on shore, the troops began to march towards Alexandria. This city was quickly reduced to obedience, and Buonaparte directed his troops to move to Grand C airo. Meanwhile admiral Brueys moored his fleet on the coast of Aboukir.

But while everything was prospering on land, and while the most brilliant hopes had been excited in the minds of the chief and his generals, a desperate reverse awaited them at sea. Nelson received intelligence in Greece of the probable destination of the French fleet, and he resolved to return to Alexandria. On the 1st of August 1798, he perceived, with exultation, the fleet of Admiral Brueys anchored in the bay of Aboukir. The French ships were moored at a proper distance from the shore, and placed in a curved line, according to the direction of the deep water. The headmost vessel was placed near a sandbank; the line of battle was flanked by frigates, and the van protected by a battery on a small island. No contrivance could have been better formed for putting the French fleet in a posture of defence; but danger and difficulty roused the fertile genius of the British admiral.

Shortening sail on a sudden, he directed part of his squadron to pass between the French fleet and the sandbank, which the republican admiral viewed as the great security of his vessels. While a part of the British ships penetrated in this manner between the enemy and the shore, others moored opposite them within a small distance; and the French being thus exposed to a cross and destructive fire, and the British dropping farther down on each side of the enemy's line, as their success allowed them, the French fleet was either destroyed or taken excepting two ships of the line and two frigates.

The consequences of the battle of the Nile were to the last degree disastrous to France. It revived in Europe a coalition against the Republican government; and in the *East*, it brought on the army of Egypt the whole weight of

the Ottoman empire. The Sultan was not so foolish as to be persuaded that it was an act of friendship on the part of France to invade one of the most important provinces of the Ottoman empire. No sooner therefore was the divan at liberty to speak its real sentiments, by the destruction of the armament which had spread terror throughout the Levant, than the Turks gave vent to their indignation.

War was formally declared against France; the differences with Russia were adjusted; and the formation of an army was immediately decreed to restore the authority of the Crescent on the banks of the Nile. The invasion of Egypt produced an alliance between Turkey and Russia, and the suspension of all the ancient animosities between the Christian and the Mussulman. On the 1st of September the combined Russian and Turkish squadron, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, passed under the walls of the Seraglio, and swept majestically through the Hellespont. Already, without any formal treaty, the courts of St. Petersburg, London and Constantinople acted in concert, and the basis of a triple alliance was laid, and sent to their respective courts for ratification.

The situation of the French army became every day more critical. Surrounded by a hostile population, blockaded by the fleets of England, unable to obtain succours from home, or to return in case of disaster, and about to be exposed to the formidable forces of the Turkish empire, it appeared probable that the comparatively small force of Napoleon would soon sink under the united pressure of famine and the sword. But the firmness of the chief did not forsake him. Mills were erected, at which flour was ground as finely as at Paris: a foundry in which cannon were cast, and a manufactory of gunpowder, were established, which rendered the army independent for its ammunition and artillery. An institute at Cairo concentrated the labours of the numerous scientific persons who accompanied the army; the extremities and line of the canal of Suez were explored by Napoleon in person; printing presses were set agoing at Cairo; the cavalry and artillery, remounted with the admirable horses of Arabia; the troops equipped in new clothing manufactured in the country; the fortifications of Rosetta, Damietta and Alex-

andria, put in a respectable posture of defence; while skilful draftsmen prepared, amidst the wonders of upper Egypt, the magnificent work, which, under the auspices of Denon, has immortalized the expedition. In the meantime a constitution was arranged for the province of Egypt somewhat resembling the Turkish model; but while the people had the appearance of choosing the principal officers of state, the power of the government was really in the hands of the French agent.

Excluded from all intercourse from Europe, and menaced with a serious attack by land and sea, from the Turks, Napoleon resolved to assail his enemies by an expedition into Syria, where the principal army of the Sultan was assembling. The French army met with many obstacles on their march. They took El-Arish, then Jaffa, with several places of inferior consideration; and in the month of March 1799, they opened trenches within a few yards of the walls of Acre. In this attempt, Napoleon was completely foiled, as well by the bravery of the garrison, as by the skill of Sir Sidney Smith, who on board the *Tigre*, and accompanied by two frigates, ably assisted and encouraged the defenders. A Turkish fleet, consisting of thirty sail, under the command of Hassan Bey, made its appearance; and Buonaparte resolved to abandon St. Jean d'Acre, after a siege of sixty days.

During the siege, the Turks had not been idle. By vast exertions they had succeeded in rousing the Mahometan population of all the surrounding provinces; the remains of the Mamelukes of Ibrahim Bey; the Janizaries of Aleppo and of Damascus, joined to an innumerable horde of irregular cavalry, formed a vast army, which threatened to envelope the besieging force. Napoleon, in order to anticipate the enemy, arrived not far from the banks of the Jordan at the head of fresh divisions in time to save the French army from destruction. This victory, gained by six thousand veterans over thirty thousand Oriental militia, completely secured the flank and rear of Napoleon's army, and exhibited the immense superiority of European tactics over the irregular onsets of undisciplined bravery. Kleber occupied in force the bridge of Jacob, and fixed his head-quarters at the village of Nazareth.

After the repulse before Acre Napoleon resolved to return to Egypt. Troops of cavalry harassed his army on the rear, and bands of Arabs attacked them in every quarter. By fatigue and slaughter the line of retreat was strewn with the bodies of the dead. The French, on their part, wantonly burned the villages as they passed, destroyed the fields of corn, and marked their route by desolation.

In the meantime a Turkish fleet had arrived in the bay of Aboukir, with an army of nine thousand men; and Napoleon, who was apprehensive that Sir Sidney Smith would be present to assist the Turks with his activity and skill, determined upon an immediate trial of strength and fortune. He marched his army with rapidity toward Alexandria; and thence led his forces to attack the Turkish camp. Both wings of the Grand Seignior's army were assailed at once by detachments in advance, and Murat with the cavalry darted upon the centre. The lines were thrown into confusion, and most of the Turkish army either fell on the field, or were drowned or killed in their attempt to reach their ships. Five thousand corpses floated in the bay of Aboukir; two thousand had perished in the battle; the like number were made prisoners of war in the fort. Hardly any escaped; a circumstance almost unexampled in modern warfare.

After the triumph of Aboukir, Buonaparte returned to Cairo. There he attempted to tranquillise the people, and to establish a regular and subservient government. He had formerly professed himself to belong to the Mahometan faith; and at Cairo he celebrated a grand festival of the prophet with much solemnity. Having finished these arrangements, he returned to Alexandria, professing that the situation of public affairs required his presence, but really with an intention to embrace an opportunity of returning to France.

In the port of Alexandria there were two frigates lying at anchor and ready for sea. Some hopes, aided by a natural wish, induced the friends of Buonaparte to encourage an expectation that he was meditating a return to Europe. No intimation was given, not a hint dropped, but upon the morning of the 24th August, by the dawn of day, his attendants, trembling with expectation, were commanded to wait his pleasure on the sea-shore. Instantly they were on

board, and the vessels under sail, with a fair wind, steered their course along the coast of Africa. At length having made for Corsica, they were compelled by contrary winds to anchor in the bay of Ajaccio. After a sojourn of eight days in the place of his nativity, Napoleon set sail with a fair wind. On the following evening an English fleet of fourteen sail was descried in the midst of the rays of the setting sun. Admiral Gantheaume proposed to return to Corsica, but Napoleon replied, "No, spread every sail; every man to his post; steer for the north-west." The morning sun dispelled all apprehensions, by disclosing the English fleet, which had mistaken the frigates for Venetian vessels, steering peacefully towards the north-east. On the 8th October Napoleon and his small band of followers arrived in the bay of Fregus.

The French, it is well known, were expelled from Egypt in 1801 by the British troops under the command of General Abercromby. This was immediately followed by a piece of treachery on the part of the Turks, which, had it not been firmly resisted by the English commander, might have brought disgrace on the British name. So long as the Beys retained their ascendancy, the Turkish government was aware of the insecure tenure by which their authority was maintained in Egypt; and it was secretly resolved that the Beys should be extirpated. In order to carry this design into effect, seven of the chiefs were invited to Alexandria to hold a conference with the Capitan Pasha, by whom they were received with every demonstration of respect, and invited on board a British vessel. But when they had got into the boats which were to convey them thither, they took fright, and desired to be returned on shore. This was refused, and a struggle ensued in which three of the Beys were killed and four wounded. This violation of public faith excited the most lively indignation in the British army. General Hutchison immediately put his troops under arms, and compelled the Capitan Pasha to surrender the four Beys who had been wounded; and the bodies of the slain were interred with military honours at Alexandria.

Such violations of faith are not unusual among Asiatic despots; they admit of no palliation. Examples of bar-

barity, however, had been perpetrated by the French, during their short occupation of Egypt, in which they appear to have emulated the most frightful instances of barbaric revenge. Napoleon himself, after the suppression of the revolt of Cairo, calmly writes that he had caused thirty heads a-night to be taken off in the solitude of the jail.—The frightful massacre of four thousand prisoners taken at the storming of Jaffa, has no parallel in modern warfare. The bones of the vast multitude still remain in great heaps amidst the sand-hills of the desert; the Arab turns from the field of blood, and it remains in solitary horror, a melancholy monument of Christian atrocity. The plea of expediency is of no avail: if it were, it would vindicate the massacres in the prisons of Paris, the carnage of St. Bartholomew, the burning of Joan of Arc, or any other of the foul deeds with which the page of history is stained. It need not therefore be matter of wonder, that the Ottomans, under the disadvantages of a sanguinary religion, and supposed to be strangers to the civilization of Western Europe, should have been guilty of the attempt to extirpate the Beys, who were supposed to disturb the exercise of their authority in Egypt.

The Mameluke chiefs, on the expulsion of the French, found themselves totally unable to maintain their former authority. Many of them had fallen in the contest; their redoubtable cavalry had perished; and out of the whole militia of the province, scarcely two thousand of them could be mustered in arms, when the Europeans withdrew. They were therefore compelled to accept the offer of the Grand Seignior to surrender the province into the hands of the Osmanlis. A Pasha was established, who soon became the real sovereign of the country, and long contrived, by the regular payment of his tribute, to maintain himself undisturbed in his dominions. Under his able administration order arose out of chaos; life became comparatively secure; and although an oppressive taxation was established, the national resources were prodigiously augmented.

Thus the fine province of Egypt was again restored to its late masters; but the Mameluke beys had suffered so great a diminution of their strength in their long and arduous warfare, that they were no longer able to retain their

authority. They maintained a languid struggle with Mahomet Ali, appointed eventually the Pacha: they were, however, at last ensnared by his specious promises to enter the castle of Cairo, and were massacred without mercy. Of all this formidable race of soldiers, who for so many centuries governed Egypt, not a remnant remains. The few scanty relics who survived the treachery of Mahomet, pined away amid the heats of Dongola. Egypt, therefore, has gained nothing as a country, from the extraordinary invasion which has been narrated, but the overthrow of the anarchical tyranny of the Mamelukes, and the revival of the despotism of the Ottoman yoke. A powerful government was ultimately established on the banks of the Nile by the crafty and sagacious Mahomet Ali, which in the end crushed the Wahabites in Arabia, extended itself over Syria as far as the defiles of Mount Taurus, and was only prevented by the intervention of France and Russia from utterly overthrowing the dominion of the Ottomans.

We shall now proceed to the narration of events of a more domestic nature, but scarcely of a less important character as regards the future stability of the Ottoman throne.

The soldiers attached to the new discipline of Hassan Pasha, returned to the capital, loaded with honours for their heroic defence of Acre against the desperate assaults of the French, and their success became a prevalent and powerful motive with the Sultan to proceed with his favourite measures of re-organizing his military forces; desires which, however laudable, worked, together with other unfortunate coincidences, to accomplish his ruin. The inhabitants generally received the new troops with joy and enthusiasm, who compared their valour and good conduct with the shameful cowardice of the forces engaged in the battles of Aboukir, Mount Tabor, and of Nazareth. The Sultan resolved to take advantage of the public enthusiasm, and to establish a new and independent well-disciplined corps, paid from a separate treasury. The project was violently opposed by the Ulema and the Janizaries. These being at last calmed, a festa appeared announcing to the

population of Constantinople the formation of the new corps. The ordinance limited the number of the new corps, denominated *Nizam-gedit*, to twelve thousand men. Handsome barracks were erected forthwith, near Scutari, in Asia, on the site of the ancient Seraglio of Chalcedon, and also in Europe, near *Sevend Tchiflik*, which was supplied with exercising ground, shaded on every side by rows of limes; a marble kiosk was erected for the reception of the Sultan; also a mosque with baths, fountains, and reservoirs; a spacious saloon; a refectory; a powder magazine; and rows of shops for armourers and cutlers.

It was not long ere the new corps was enabled to prove its merit. During 1803 and 1804 numerous parties of robbers, upheld by the disturbed state of the provinces, overran Bulgaria and Roumelia, who retreated with impunity when danger approached, into the recesses of the mountains of Bosnia and Albania. The local authorities were totally unable to stem these disorders. The Sultan, therefore, despatched against these bands four of the newly disciplined regiments, who completely extirpated the robbers; and after a series of brilliant skirmishes, put an end to the devastations which overran the fine plains of Thrace and of Mœsia. The Janizaries, however, were enabled to impose on the public mind, and the corps was treated with hate instead of gratitude by the very provinces which it had served; but the Sultan and his ministers bestowed on the soldiers a liberal recompense.

The Sultan, in March 1805, having resolved to increase the new corps by a species of conscription, issued a mandate desiring a levy to be made among the Janizaries, between the age of twenty and twenty-five years, and that the picked men should be incorporated with the *Nizam-gedit*. This measure caused the greatest excitement at Adrianople and throughout the empire, and after a series of troubles and dangers, it was suspended.

During these circumstances, General Sebastiani arrived at Constantinople as the representative of Napoleon. His celebrated tour in the Levant furnished the originating irritation which caused the rupture of the peace of Amiens.

Nothing could be more embarrassing than the position of

the Sultan, the sad spectator of a contest of which he was the ostensible object and the proposed prey. The victory of either party menaced him with ruin; he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. Never was a sovereign so situated between two negotiators; one armed with all the power by land, the other with that of the sea; both, to all appearance, able to destroy, but neither of them capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The measures of England, however, were well calculated to secure the alliance of Turkey, or at all events to detach the Porte from espousing the interests of France; but the execution of the measures was not equal to the design.

By the treaty of Jassy, which terminated the war with Russia, it had been agreed that the hospodars or governors of Wallachia and Moldavia, should not be dismissed for seven years; and by the supplementary treaty of 1802, it had been stipulated that they should not be removed without the consent of Russia.

Napoleon, who was now on the eve of a war with Prussia and Russia, despatched General Sebastiani, a skilful diplomatic agent, to Constantinople, with the view of producing a rupture between the Turks and Russians. For the attainment of this object it became necessary to remove the two hospodars who were in the interests of Russia, and to replace them by others who were known to be favourable to the French alliance. When the French ambassador arrived in the Turkish capital, in August 1806, he found matters extremely favourable to the attainment of these objects. The Sultan, in the extremity of his embarrassments, gladly accepted an alliance with France, whose powerful armies were already stationed in Dalmatia, and which promised the only effectual aid which could be looked for from any of the European nations, against his own malcontents and the encroachments of Russia. The arts of Sebastiani prevailed over the unsuspecting Sultan. The hospodars were removed, and Prince Suzzo and Calliamachi, both favourable to the French, appointed in their room.

This decisive step at once excited the indignation of Russia and England, and the British and Russian ministers openly threatened an immediate attack on the Turkish capi-

tal by the fleets of their respective sovereigns. The Russian government refused to ratify the treaty concluded at Paris. Sebastiani, taking advantage of this favourable circumstance, represented the cause of France as identified with that of the Sublime Porte, and demanded that the Bosphorus should be closed to Russian vessels of war, and announced that the continuation of the alliance with England and Russia, would be held as a declaration of war against the French emperor. The threats of the French diplomatist were successful: a Russian brig which presented itself at the mouth of the Bosphorus was denied admission, which violently irritated the Russian and English ambassadors. They insisted upon the dismissed Waiwods being forthwith reinstated in their possessions; and the English minister threatened that in the event of this request not being acceded to, a British fleet would enter the Dardanelles and lay the capital in ashes. Intimidated by this threat, and aware of the defenceless state of his capital, the Sultan complied with the request, reinstated the Waiwods, and satisfied the Russian ambassador in all his demands. But it was too late. As soon as the intelligence of the dismissal of the Waiwods reached the Russian cabinet, an army under General Michelson was ordered to invade the Turkish territory. The Russian army accordingly entered Moldavia on the 23d November 1806. Notwithstanding the restoration of the Waiwods, the army continued to advance. Thus an opportunity was afforded to the Russian emperor of extending his frontiers towards the Danube, and of advancing his schemes of conquest in the direction of Constantinople. The victories of Napoleon in Prussia increased the French influence at the Divan; and the Sultan was persuaded, that as the Russian armies were hard pressed on the Vistula, the time had arrived when, by throwing his weight into the scale, he might regain those possessions which had been wrested from the Turkish empire during a century of previous misfortunes. But the Porte was far from being in a condition to oppose the Russians. Forty thousand troops overran Moldavia and Wallachia, and made themselves masters of all the Ottoman territory to the north of the Danube. At this juncture the cabinet of St. Petersburg became sensible of the impru-

dence of engaging an enemy on the banks of the Danube, when the successes of Napoleon on the Vistula imperiously demanded all their forces for the defence of their own frontier. Four divisions of the army of the Danube were recalled to strengthen the extreme left of the army of Poland. It appeared, therefore, of the utmost importance to deprive the French emperor of the powerful co-operation which he was likely to derive from the Turks, whose army drew the attention of Russia to the southern frontier of the empire. The naval forces of England appeared to be well calculated to effect this object. Instructions, therefore, were given to Sir John Duckworth, who was cruising off Ferrol, to proceed to the mouth of the Dardanelles. His orders were to compel the Turks, by a threat of an immediate bombardment, into a relinquishment of the French, and the adoption of the Russian and English alliance.

The fortifications of these important straits had fallen into disrepair. The ramparts of the castles of Europe and Asia, at the narrowest part of the passage, were antiquated, the guns dismounted, and those which remained, although of enormous calibre, were little calculated to answer the rapidity and precision of a British broadside. Meantime, the Divan declared war against England. The religious enthusiasm of the Turks was now fully awakened; but deaf to the remonstrances of the French ambassador, and judging of the future only by the past, they believed that their only danger lay on the side of the Danube, and thither they directed all their disposable troops. Nothing was done to repair the fortifications of the straits; meanwhile, the squadrons of Sir John Duckworth and Admiral Louis, consisting of seven line of battle ships, two frigates and two bomb-vessels, effected a junction off Tenedos. With this force the British admiral resolved to force the passage; and having taken his measures with much skill, he advanced with his ships in single file, at moderate intervals, with a fair wind. On the 19th February the fleet entered the Dardanelles.

The Turks were completely taken by surprise. A desultory fire alone was opened upon the ships; but when they *reached the Castles of Europe and Asia, where the strait is little*

more than a mile broad, a tremendous cannonade assailed them on both sides, and enormous balls, weighing seven and eight hundred-weight, began to pass through the rigging. But the British sailors, fearless of these unusual projectiles, kept up such a rapid and accurate fire on right and left, as the ships moved slowly and majestically through the straits, that the Turkish cannoneers, unaccustomed to the fire of modern times, and terrified at the crash of the shot on the battlements, took to flight.

The increasing sound of the approaching cannonade gradually reached Constantinople; and the distant light of the conflagration announced the destruction of the Ottoman fleet. A brig which with difficulty escaped the flames, had scarcely announced the alarming tidings at Constantinople, when the British fleet, with all sail set, was seen proudly advancing within three leagues of the Seraglio point. No words can adequately describe the terror which prevailed. The capital was defenceless; not ten guns were mounted on the sea batteries. The fear and consternation of the inhabitants were greatly increased, when a message arrived from the British admiral to the effect that if, in twenty-four hours, the demands of Britain were not acceded to, he would immediately bombard the city.

Nothing but submission appeared to the Sultan; but the genius of Sebastiani again prevailed. Sir John Duckworth, anxious to prevent the horrors of a bombardment, was drawn into a negotiation. Day after day elapsed in the mere exchange of notes and diplomatic communications; meanwhile the Mussulmans were indefatigably employed in organizing the means of defence. The Turks were roused to the greatest pitch of enthusiasm, men and women, Turks, Greeks and Armenians, forgetting for a time their religious animosities, laboured at the fortifications. The commands of Selim, who repeatedly visited the works, were obeyed by two hundred thousand men, animated by religious and patriotic ardour, while French engineers communicated to the enthusiastic and busy multitude, the inestimable advantages of scientific skill. The defences were speedily armed, and in six days a thousand pieces of cannon and two hundred mortars were mounted on the batteries. A hundred

gun-boats were drawn across the mouth of the Golden Horn: twelve line of battle-ships within stood ready for action: fire-ships were prepared, and numerous furnaces with red-hot shot kept constantly heated to carry into the British fleet the conflagration with which they menaced the Turkish capital.

By means of their telescopes the English officers were made aware of the preparations that were going forward; and although the direction of the wind rendered it impossible for them to pass the straits, nothing was done adequate to the emergency. Every effort, indeed, was made to bring the enemy to an accommodation; but the Mussulman population, now roused to enthusiasm, would not have permitted the government to have come to terms, even if they had been so inclined. An attack upon the city now appeared to the British to be hopeless. The object of the expedition had failed; and it remained only to provide for the safety of the fleet. This, however, was no easy matter. The batteries of the Dardanelles had all been armed, and the castles of Europe and Asia had been strengthened, so as to render the passage of the straits extremely hazardous. To complete the difficulties, the wind remained fixed in the south-west, so as to render it totally impossible for the English admiral to retrace his steps.

On the 1st March, however, a breeze having sprung up from the Black Sea, all sails were spread, and the fleet entered the Dardanelles. A heavy fire from the batteries immediately commenced; the headlands on either side presented a continued line of smoke; the roar of artillery was incessant; and the enormous stone bullets threatened at one stroke to sink the largest vessel. One of these carried away, below the deck, the main mast of the Windsor Castle, and another entered the poop of the Standard, and killed and wounded sixty men. At last, the fleet cleared the straits and anchored off Tenedos, having sustained a loss of two hundred and fifty men.

After the departure of the English fleet, all amicable relations were, of course, suspended with the Turkish government. The entrance to the Bosphorus was strictly blockaded, and the supply of the capital by water-carriage entirely cut

off.—The scarcity of provisions soon became so great that serious commotion took place in the capital. The Turks by great exertion having adequately manned their fleet, the Capitan Pasha ventured to advance beyond the protection which the forts of the Dardanelles afforded it, and to give battle to the Russians. The result was as might have been expected from a contest between a newly recruited body of men, and a fleet fully manned by experienced sailors. The Ottoman armament was totally destroyed. The Turkish ports were strictly blockaded by the Russian fleet, until the treaty of Tilsit established a short and fallacious truce between these irreconcilable enemies.

Before entering upon the narration of the revolutions which desolated the capital, and cost Selim his throne, it is necessary to trace the short and disastrous expedition to Egypt, which at this time was undertaken by Britain. Egypt, by the peace of Amiens, was again restored to the Ottoman Porte. The Mamelukes were naturally desirous of regaining their power, but the Porte, availing itself of the reduced state to which the French invasion had brought them, resolved to carry on a war of extermination against the Beys and their dependents. With this view the sale and introduction of Georgian and Circassian captives, by which the Mamelukes were continually recruited, was prohibited, and the Porte despatched a considerable force of Albanians under Mahomet Ali, the Pasha, for the purpose of prosecuting the war. The remains of the Mamelukes were compelled to fly before the arms of the Pasha, and they sought shelter in Upper Egypt, and finally in Dongola. All traces of this fierce and powerful class of soldiery eventually disappeared in the deserts of Nubia. Egypt was still eagerly coveted by Napoleon, and the feeble government of the Mussulmans afforded no security against a successful attack by a force far inferior to that which composed the first expedition. The British government therefore felt anxious to regain possession of that important country. The English commanders in the Mediterranean, finding themselves involved in hostilities with the Turks, a plan was formed for the invasion of Egypt. The results, however, proved that both the plan and the execution of it were alike defective.

The land forces, not exceeding five thousand men of all arms; under the command of General Mackenzie, sailed from Messina on the 6th of March 1807, and landed on the 18th. Alexandria capitulated; Damietta was occupied without resistance; and two thousand five hundred men were despatched to effect the reduction of Rosetta. This town commands one of the mouths of the Nile, and it was thought essential to take possession of it, with the view to the regular supply of provisions for Alexandria. Circumstances, however, showed that this precaution was altogether unnecessary. As immediate succour was expected from the Mamelukes, a small force of seven hundred men were stationed at El Hammed, in order to facilitate their junction with the besieging force. This detachment was speedily surrounded by an overwhelming body of Turkish horse, and after a gallant resistance they were entirely cut off. The promised Mamelukes never made their appearance. The vigorous measures adopted by Mahomet Ali, rendered the attack upon Rosetta altogether abortive. Upwards of a thousand British fell in the assault. Disaffection reached Alexandria; and weary of insidious foes and treacherous friends, the English renounced their project, and capitulated for the evacuation of Egypt. It is almost certain that if, instead of five thousand, fifteen thousand men had formed the expedition, Egypt might have been a rich and important British province, the value of which, every day since, has become more apparent.

The Capitan Pasha, elated that the English had failed in their enterprise, and fancying that some share of the honour of their defeat belonged to himself, sailed into the Mediterranean and attacked the Russian fleet. The fleets were well matched, and the contest was maintained on both sides with the greatest fury. Although the Turkish admiral was defeated, yet the Russian squadron suffered so severely, that it set sail to the Ionian Isles, whence it returned no more to the *Ægean Sea*.

Desirous to profit by the victories of Napoleon in the north, the Porte resolved to attempt the expulsion of the Russians from the principalities, and an extraordinary levy was called in all her pashaliks. The Bosniacks, the Servians, and the levies of Roumelia, were summoned to the entrenched

camp of Shumla, and thither were also directed the contingents of the Pashas of Asia. Bairakder, the most energetic of the Ottoman leaders, and highly esteemed by Selim, was advanced to the dignity of Vizier or Pasha of three tails.

The Mufti, whose enlightened prudence and regard for the Sultan, and whose services at this juncture were inestimable, died. The lamentable consequences which occurred, soon evinced what a calamity his decease became to the whole Ottoman empire; and the Sultan, who had cherished him as a friend, felt the whole extent of his loss.

The expedition of Sir John Duckworth had a powerful effect in rousing the Mahometan spirit in the empire; but a tragical event, which soon after ensued, prostrated its reviving strength, and exposed the empire, all but defenceless, to the blows of the enemy.

It appeared evident to Sultan Selim, as has already been mentioned, that the real remedy for the inveterate weakness of the Ottoman empire, and for the maintenance of the independence of Turkey, was the gradual introduction of the civil and military institutions of Christendom. The Janizaries, who had contrived to engross almost all the official situations in the empire, began to feel that their influence might suffer by the establishment of a corps of *Nizam-Jedeed*, or new troops, disciplined in the European method, and lodged in the principal barracks of Constantinople. The powerful body of the Ulemas, or priesthood, began to preach insurrection, upon the ground of the Sultan aiming at the overthrow of the fundamental institutions of the Koran and the empire; and a wide-spread conspiracy was formed among the disaffected, for the destruction of the reforming Sultan and his minister Mahomud.

Mahomud was the first victim. The guards of the Sultan rescued him from the hands of the conspirators, but it was only to meet death on the Asiatic coast, when he disembarked from a boat into which he had thrown himself to escape from their fury. The Ulemas, the Janizaries, and the Yamacks all declared against the Sultan; the heads of the principal persons in Constantinople were successively brought by the ferocious bands of assassins to the head quarters of the insurgents; the Sultan himself only purchased

a respite by delivering up to their fury the Bostandji-Bashi. After two days of bloodshed and confusion, Selim was formally dethroned by the Grand Mufti, and his nephew, Mustapha, placed on the throne. Immediately the cannon of the castle announced a new reign, and Selim, shut up in a dungeon, was soon as completely forgotten as if he had never existed. Selim resigned into the hands of Mustapha, with becoming dignity, that power which he had ever exercised for the good of his subjects, and he never deserved more highly of them than at this moment. Never did any revolution more strikingly evince the bigotry and blindness of a populace.

MUSTAPHA IV.

This prince was thirty years old when he was placed on the throne. Of a feeble character, and unacquainted with human nature, he was very ill calculated to contend with the difficult circumstances which surrounded him. The revolution which elevated Mustapha had ostensibly been conducted by the Yamacks. They had been able, like many other clamorous bodies, to destroy, but to repair or consolidate was beyond their reach.

This revolution was as successful in the capital as it was rapid; but the lingering fidelity of the troops on the Danube, paved the way for a second revolution. Mustapha, frivolous, sensual, and apathetic, was entirely unfit to direct the tempest which had raised him to the throne. The chiefs who headed the revolt were jealous of each other, and their common rapacity rendered them alike an object of horror to the people. When the capital was thus agitated by the cruelty and extortion of the revolutionists, Mustapha Bairakdar, the Pasha of Roustchouk, was secretly collecting the disaffected, and fomenting a counter-revolution.

Selecting a choice body of four thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry, Bairakdar crossed the Balkan to Constantinople. At the entrance of the capital, Bairakdar made known his conditions to Sultan Mustapha, and demanded that he should exile the Grand Mufti, and disband

the Yamacks. To these conditions, the Sultan at once agreed. But the undaunted Pasha had deeper designs. Learning that the Grand Seignior had gone to pass the day with the ladies of his harem at one of his kiosks, or country residences, Bairakdar put himself at the head of a chosen body of troops, and preceded by the sacred standard of the Sandjak-Scheriff, which he had violently torn from the hands of the Grand Vizier, marched to the Seraglio to dethrone the reigning Sultan, and to restore the captive Selim. The outer gate of the palace flew open at the sight of the standard of the prophet; but the bostandjis at the inner gates opposed so firm a resistance, that time was gained to enable the Sultan to return by a back way and to regain his private apartments. Meanwhile Bairakdar demanded that Selim should instantly be restored and seated on the throne. Mustapha's adherents feigned a compliance; but the Sultan himself gave orders that Selim should be strangled in prison. The sanguinary order was immediately executed; and the dead body of Selim thrown into the court occupied by Bairakdar's troops. In a transport of rage, Bairakdar ordered the officers of the Seraglio to be brought before him and instantly executed. Sultan Mustapha was dethroned, and shut up in the same prison in which Selim had just been strangled, and his younger brother Mahmoud, the last of the royal and sacred race, put upon the throne.

MAHMOUD II.

The bloody catastrophe which elevated Mahmoud to the sceptre did not terminate these revolutions: fortune was not yet weary of exhibiting on this dark stage, the instability of human affairs. For some months the machine of government, under Bairakdar, who, as a reward for his courage and fidelity, was created Grand Vizier, went on smoothly. Sultan Mahmoud, who was no less determined to reform the national institutions than Selim had been, united to this disposition an inflexibility of character that rendered him incomparably more formidable; and the great

capacity of the Grand Vizier rendered it probable that their projects would soon be carried into execution. The Ulemas, the Mufti, and the leaders of the disaffected, again organized an insurrection, which was favoured by the withdrawal of a large portion of the army which had overthrown Mustapha, from the capital, to make head against the Russians on the Danube, and it broke out in the middle of November 1808. The Janizaries proved victorious. A furious multitude of these haughty prætorians surrounded the barracks of the new troops, set fire to them, and several hundreds were consumed in the conflagration. Another body directed their steps to the palace of the Grand Vizier, and a third to the Seraglio. Four thousand guards defended the Sultan; but the few faithful guards of the Grand Vizier were driven into his palace, to which the savage multitude immediately set fire. Bairakdar, to shorten his sufferings, himself set fire to a powder magazine, who with his whole household was blown into the air. In the midst of these scenes of horror, the Sultan ordered his troops from the Seraglio, and from the adjoining forts of the Bosphorus, to enter the city, and Constantinople immediately became the theatre of general bloodshed, massacre, and conflagration. At length, after forty-eight hours of continued combat, during which men, women, and children perished alike by the sword and by the flames, the party of the Janizaries prevailed, and the Sultan, who had previously strangled his rival, Mustapha, in prison, purchased peace by the sacrifice of all his ministers who were favourable to the new order of things. Mahmoud was the last of the race of Othman, and with his existence the fate of the empire was thought to be wound up; and even in these moments of victorious insurrection, the superstitious attachment to the sacred race was apparent. He became the object of veneration even by the rebels; and he reigned in safety with despotic power, by the support of the very faction who would, in all probability, have consigned him to a dungeon, or perhaps to death, had Mustapha, or any other of the race of Othman, survived, whom the rebels could have elevated to the throne.

¶ During these sanguinary tumults, the great bulk of the people remained in passive indifference. They submitted

in silence to a power which they could not resist, and avoided a contest in which they had no direct interest; and thus fanaticism and tyranny produced the same results in Turkey, whether in the utter prostration of the general sentiment of the nation, or in the cruelties and atrocities of the victorious bands, as infidelity and democracy had done in the west of Europe.—The contest lay directly between the Ulemas, the Mufti, and the Janizaries, on one side, and the court, the officers of state, and the new soldiers on the other; and the repeated convulsions of which they alone had been the cause, proved highly injurious to the Ottomans, even in the field of diplomacy.

Napoleon, no doubt, would have discovered other pretexts for abandoning Turkey, and arranging its partition, and would without any hesitation, and without assigning any reason, have entered into the treaty of Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander. But in the present circumstances, he pretended that his alliance was only with Sultan Selim: that he was under no engagements with the ferocious rabble who had overthrown his government and consigned him to a dungeon: that, in short, the Turks were a horde of barbarians who could be no longer tolerated in Europe. It was one of the conditions, accordingly, of the treaty of Tilsit, that France should offer its mediation to effect an adjustment of the differences between Russia and the Sublime Porte; and that in the event of the latter declining the terms arranged between Alexander and Napoleon, she was to be jointly attacked by them both. Russia was to be at liberty to annex Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria to her empire; while Macedonia, Thrace, Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago, were allotted to France. Thus, by this shameful desertion of his ally, did Napoleon requite the Turks for the fidelity with which they stood by his side when the British squadron threatened the destruction of Constantinople, and when his own army was involved in a hazardous conflict with Russia on the Vistula.

No sooner, therefore, had the ambition of Russia been satisfied in the north, with the annexation of Finland, than the Czar turned his ambitious eyes to the Turkish dominions. The army on the Danube was reinforced by sixty

battalions, and in March 1809, orders were sent to its commander, Prince Prozorowsky, to cross that river and carry the war with vigour into the heart of the Turkish territory.

The army under the command of the Russian general was a very powerful one, presenting a total of eighty thousand infantry and twenty-five thousand horse. The Turks, severely weakened by internal dissension, and the defection of Czerny George, the Pasha of Servia, had no force to oppose them, capable of keeping the field. The Russians, however, were far from reaping that benefit from the distractions of the Ottoman empire and their own surpassing strength which might have been anticipated. The Turks confined themselves to throwing strong garrisons into the fortresses on the Danube, and directing their principal forces against Servia, where their undisciplined militia were more likely to meet with antagonists over whom they had a chance of prevailing. The plan proved successful. Although the Ottomans sustained considerable reverses, it was evident that unless a powerful diversion was made on the lower Danube, the campaign would terminate to the advantage of the Turks.

A circumstance, apart altogether from the indomitable spirit of resistance which the Turks have invariably manifested, has contributed, perhaps more than any other, to prolong the existence of the Turkish empire. The desert and pestilential plains forming the lower part of the basin of the Danube, have always formed the theatre of war between the Ottomans and the Christian powers. The flat parts of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as of Northern Bulgaria, are exceedingly unhealthy, especially in the autumnal months. Their low situation exposes them to frequent inundations, and deluges of wet in the winter and early part of the season. During the great heats and long drought of summer, the marshes and plains are dried up, which forms the source of marsh *miasmata* of the most fatal kind. In the autumn vegetation is withered; pasture for cavalry disappears; the earth, parched and hardened, cracks in several places, and pestilential effluvia spread with the exhalations drawn up by the burning sun. This malaria never fails to occasion greater ravages than the sword of the enemy. The

truth of this statement has been fatally exemplified in the Russian army during the present war. Were the northern provinces of Turkey traversed by roads passable for wheel carriages, it might be possible for an army to reach the foot of the Balkans early in the season; but the difficulty of dragging the artillery and waggons over several hundred miles of uncultivated plains, where there are no provisions, are such as to render it difficult to reach the northern face of the mountains before the great heats have commenced. The strength of Shumla, the courage of the inhabitants of the Balkan, and the pestilential gales of autumn, have hitherto arrested the invaders. Thus Turkey has found that security in the desolation, which it probably would not have done in the prosperity, of its empire.

Independent, however, of these obstacles, Turkey is defended on its northern frontier by the great barrier of the line of the Danube. Had the Ottomans possessed the military skill and enterprise of the French, it might have been rendered as impervious as the Rhine to hostile invasion. Brahilow, Giurgevo, Silistria, Roustchouk, Hirsova and Widdin, besides several other fortresses of less note, constitute this formidable line of defence. An invading army from the north finds itself compelled to secure one or more of these barrier fortresses, before it ventures to cross the Danube. These fortifications cannot stand a comparison with the modern works of Vauban and Cohorn; but of late years, however, they have been very much improved.

The first enterprise of Prosorowsky was against Giurgevo, near the mouth of the Danube. Ignorant of the enemy with whom he had to deal, or miscalculating the prowess of his own troops, he was repulsed with the loss of two thousand men. He invested Bahlilow on the right bank of the river, and was compelled to retreat with the loss of seven thousand men. Elated with success, the Grand Vizier ventured to cross the Danube, and began to ravage the plains of Moldavia. Meanwhile Prosorowsky died, and was succeeded by Bagrathion, who, after many reverses, succeeded in throwing a radiance over the conclusion of the campaign, by the reduction of Bahlilow, which surrendered by capitulation from want of provisions in the

end of November. This success gave the Russians the advantage of a solid fortress, which secured the passage of the Danube.

Russia had yet gained nothing by the favourable opportunity afforded them by the conclusion of the peace with Napoleon. In the beginning of 1810, however, an imperial ukase appeared, formally annexing Moldavia and Wallachia to the Russian empire, and declaring the Danube the southern European boundary of their dominions. This step was followed by extensive military preparations. The army on the Danube was augmented to a hundred and ten thousand men, of which thirty thousand were cavalry, and Bagrathion was replaced by Kamenskoi, a general possessing little experience in Turkish warfare. Desirous to signalize the commencement of the campaign by decisive success, Kamenskoi divided his troops into two parts; the right was to lay siege to Silistria and Roustchouk, so as to become master of the whole line of the Danube, while with the left he himself advanced by Hirsova to Shumla. During the winter a tacit armistice, attended by very singular consequences, prevailed between the two armies. The continental system of Napoleon, then in full activity in northern Europe, had almost totally extinguished that mercantile intercourse which arises out of the wants, and grows with the happiness of mankind. English goods to an enormous amount were conveyed up the Danube, paid duties to the Pasha of Widdin, and were carried through the Rothenbourg on men's heads and horses' backs into Hungary, and thence through the whole of Germany. The immense profits realized enabled the merchants to bribe the authorities in all the different countries through which they passed, to wink at the transit of goods, in direct violation of the engagements of their respective sovereigns. The immense importance of the free navigation of the Danube, receives full confirmation, if need be, from the very circumstance of the wants of mankind being at least partially supplied through this channel, when the most powerful monarch that ever existed in Europe, flattered himself that he had closed every inlet to the Continent against the introduction of *English manufactures*.

The right wing of the Russian army crossed the Danube in the middle of March, between Roustchouk and Widdin; and in the middle of May the left wing entered upon the campaign, and advanced to Bazarjik, which was carried by assault in the beginning of June. Meanwhile, Karayusuf Pasha, well known by his defence of Acre, accumulated a formidable force in the intrenched camp of Shumla.

The operations of Langeron on the lower Danube proved entirely successful. Silistria surrendered by capitulation: Turtoukai and Rasgrad yielded soon after to the terrors of a bombardment. The commander-in-chief advanced towards Shumla, and he appeared, accordingly, on the 22d June, with forty thousand men in front of that celebrated stronghold.

Shumla, in a war with Russia, is a fortress of the highest importance. The town is considerable, and is situated on the northern slope of the Balkan, where the great road from Belgrade and Bucharest to Constantinople begins to ascend the slope of the mountains. The town contains thirty thousand inhabitants: a clear torrent descending through its centre, secures both them and the inmates of the camp with an ample supply of water, and provisions are easily introduced from the rear. The intrenched camp extends beyond the town, which cannot be said to be regularly fortified, and it is overhung in the rear, by a succession of eminences which rise one above another, till they are lost in the woody thickets of Mount Hæmus. The garrison of Shumla consisted of thirty thousand men; and the defender of Acre had employed months in clearing out the ditches and strengthening the ramparts, which were principally built with clay. The redoubts were placed merely on the commanding points, leaving often a space of several hundred yards broad, without any defence; yet in the hands of the Turks, they constituted a most efficient barrier.

The attack upon this camp was fierce and bloody, and after several weeks spent in fruitless efforts, Kamenskoi was obliged to renounce the enterprise. Thirty thousand men were left to continue a distant blockade, and himself hastened with twelve thousand choice troops to co-operate in the siege of Roustchouk.

This fortress is a Turkish town on the Danube, which contained at the time of the siege, about thirty thousand inhabitants. Its defences consisted of a single rampart and wet ditch, and did not possess more powerful means of resistance than Brahilow, nor so much as Silistria. But the resources of Hassan Pasha, a man of cool judgment and invincible resolution, were better than either walls or ditches. The garrison consisted only of seven thousand men; but the example of Hassan had imparted a spirit of enthusiasm to the whole population capable of bearing arms, which formed a body of irregular defenders, equal in number to the garrison. The besieging force under Kamenskoi was raised to above twenty thousand combatants; and the clergy, as well as their chief, joined in their efforts to animate the soldiers. The rampart was in part ruined when the cannon of the enemy opened upon the fortress. Hassan had not returned a shot; and the younger Russian soldiers, flattered themselves that very little resistance was to be anticipated. During the preceding night a vehement fire had been kept up from all the batteries, and at daybreak the troops advanced to the attack in five massive columns, one of which was charged with forcing the breach, while the others were to mount the rampart by escalade. It was soon discovered that the Pasha's previous silence had arisen neither from terror nor inattention. The Muscovites steadily advanced, and when they reached the foot of the scarp, from every roof, window, and loophole a dreadful fire issued upon the assailants; the troops, staggered by the severity of the fire, recoiled from the foot of the rampart; and from the opposite side of the fosse they exchanged musket-shots with their visible and invisible antagonists. At noon the Turkish banner still waved on all the minarets; and it was not till six at night that Kamenskoi sounded a retreat, leaving eight thousand killed and wounded in the ditch and around the walls of the fortress. Four thousand of the unfortunate Muscovites were immediately decapitated by their valiant but ruthless enemies. The Russians soon afterwards raised the investment of Shumla, but they still kept their ground before the fortresses on the north bank of the Danube.

The Turks now resolved to attempt the deliverance of

Roustchouk, and Beglerbeg who had recently been appointed Seraskier, or commander-in-chief of his province, was ordered by the Divan to assemble a force for that purpose. Thirty thousand men, for the most part undisciplined militia, were forthwith concentrated on the river Jantra, about forty miles from the fortress. Sensible that these troops would be wholly unable to withstand the Russian army in the open field, Beglerbeg took post on the river near Battin, and immediately proceeded to fortify his camp. The situation was well selected, being a half deserted plain intersected by several rocky ravines, at the confluence of the Jantra and the Danube, with a few fruit-trees scattered over its surface, and watered on two sides by these ample streams. The neck of land by which access could be obtained to the camp, was strengthened by two redoubts, and covered in the interval between them, with thick bushes and underwood. Nevertheless, Kamenskoi, desirous to wipe off the disgrace of the repulse at Roustchouk, resolved to hazard an attack. Having previously strengthened the besieging force before Roustchouk, the general-in-chief, following the right bank of the river, appeared in front of the Turkish intrenchments, at the head of eighteen thousand men. Notwithstanding the superiority of the Russians, especially in artillery, of which they had a hundred pieces, it was deemed unsafe to hazard an attack in front, at least unless strongly supported by simultaneous operations on either flank. The enemy, it was soon discovered, had two intrenched camps, the works of which mutually supported each other, and their guns were so disposed as to command, in rear, the navigation of the Danube, on which they had also a powerful flotilla destined for the relief of Roustchouk. The only practicable way of reaching the camp that remained, was by an attack in flank, where the ravine, though steep and rugged, was practicable for infantry. Meanwhile, strong reinforcements were ordered up from Silistria, and Woiroff having come up with five thousand men, the grand attack was fixed for the 7th September.

The battle commenced at daybreak. The cavalry advanced to within cannon-shot of the principal camp; and another column, composed of infantry, moved up in squares

to the front of the lesser ones, while Kulneff crossed the ravine, and advanced upon the western defence of the Turkish position. Kamenskoi himself, with the centre, stormed the principal heights, which commanded one of the intrenched camps, and although with great loss, he gained considerable advantages. The attack failed on both flanks, upon which the Russians desisted from further attempts for the night.

The Turkish camp, however, was now completely surrounded by the Muscovite troops, and many of the imperial generals seeing the desperate manner in which the Turks had defended themselves on the preceding day, strongly advised the commander-in-chief to withdraw Kulneff's division, so as to leave the Turks a retreat up the course of the Danube. The Turks, on their part, elated by their success, gave way to every demonstration of joy; and in sight of both armies, went through the barbarous operation of decapitating the Russians who had been left on the field. "This practice," the Prince of Ligne remarks, "was more formidable in appearance than reality; for it could do no harm to the dead; it was often a relief to the wounded; and it was rather an advantage to the unhurt, as it left them no chance of escape but in victory."

Kamenskoi was resolute; orders were given to renew the attack at daybreak. Kulneff was put under arrest, in consequence of a violent altercation with the general, and the command of his troops was given to Subanejef. The attack of Subanejef was entirely successful, and his troops made their way into the camp to which they were opposed. Suddenly assembling the whole of his cavalry and the bravest of his infantry, Muktar Pasha abandoned his camp and all its contents, poured out by one of the gates like a torrent, and making straight across the plateau, sought the shelter of the ravine on the right. This unlooked-for deluge had well nigh swept away Kamenskoi himself; and as the standard of Mahomet still floated on the intrenchments, the tumult was deemed only a partial sally from the works. But the fire from the ramparts gradually died away; the standards alone remained on the summit. The Russians poured with loud *shouts* into the enclosure, and with savage revenge, put all

they still found within to the sword. The trophies of the victory were the principal camp of the Ottomans, with fourteen guns and two hundred standards, the whole flotilla which lay on the Danube laden with provisions and ammunition, with five thousand prisoners, among whom was Achmet Pasha the second in command. The immediate consequences of this victory were the capture of Sistova, and the surrender of Roustchouk, from which the Pasha was permitted to retire with his whole troops and the inhabitants, leaving the walls, cannon, standards, and military stores to the Russians. Giurgevo immediately capitulated on the same favourable terms. The Russians were thus masters of the important strongholds on the Danube, but the obstinate resistance of the Turks had entirely ruined their designs. The rainy season had set in; and as the evacuation of Roustchouk took nearly a month, the Russians were not entirely in possession of the fortress till the end of October. Even then they got nothing but half ruined walls, and a deserted town; only five hundred of the lowest of the people were found within its blood-stained ramparts.

Kamenskoi, disquieted at the prolonged resistance of Roustchouk, and the intelligence of great preparations at Constantinople, despatched orders to General St. Priest, in command at Sistova, to destroy that town, and to hasten with all his forces to the main army. This barbarous order, dictated in a moment of groundless alarm, was faithfully executed. Sistova was reduced to a heap of ruins; its inhabitants, twenty thousand in number, were transported to the opposite side of the Danube; the damp and miserable huts in which they were lodged scarcely serving to shelter them from the drenching rains. Great flocks of wild pigeons settled in the ruins of this once flourishing town; and its beautiful environs, composed of vine-clad hills, intermingled with roses, were soon choked by weeds, and tenanted only by foxes from the neighbouring solitudes. Nicopolis capitulated, and the Russians recrossed the Danube, and took up their winter quarters in Moldavia and Wallachia. Nicopolis and Silistria were blown up; Roustchouk was put in a respectable posture of defence. Meanwhile Kamenskoi died, and was succeeded by General Kutusoff.

In the year 1811, the relations between the cabinet of St. Petersburg and that of the Tuileries became so menacing, that the Emperor Alexander gave orders for five divisions of the army to break up from their winter quarters on the Danube, and direct their march to Poland and the Vistula, and the campaign of 1811 was, of necessity, laid out upon a defensive plan merely. Encouraged by this great diminution in the strength of their enemies, the Turkish government made the most vigorous efforts for the prosecution of the war. Achmet Pasha commanded the main army, which numbered 60,000 combatants, with seventy-eight pieces of artillery, while at the same time a corps of 20,000 marched towards Widdin, and nearly the same number to the right to observe Silistria, Nicopolis, and Turtoukai.

It affords a strong proof of the native vigour which, despite the innumerable errors of their political institutions, animated the Turkish empire, that they were capable, in the third year of the war, and without any external aid, of putting forth such formidable forces. Their approach immediately made Kutusoff concentrate his troops, and he himself crossed the Danube, and took post in front of Roustchouk. A fiercely contested battle ensued, during which the victory was long doubtful. Four regiments of Russians were almost destroyed by the Ottoman horsemen, who deeming the victory won, dashed through the intervals of the squares, disregarding the fire which assailed them on either flank, and penetrated even as far as the gardens of the town : all seemed lost ; but the gallant horsemen, having no aid from foot soldiers, were unable to establish themselves in the fortress. Grape-shot from the ramparts shook their ranks, and they were compelled to retreat through the Russian squares, who again poured in a deadly volley on either side of the now diminished squadrons. The Turks retired to their intrenched camp, and Kutusoff withdrew within the walls of Roustchouk, with the loss of three thousand men. The Turks were weakened by at least an equal number.

Kutusoff, preferring a campaign in the open field, abandoned to his antagonist the object of so much bloodshed ; and *with true Russian barbarity* burnt the town, and crossed

over entirely to the left bank of the river. The Turkish army, amidst the pomp of oriental power, and the clang of military instruments, again took possession of the ramparts. The standards of Mahomet were displayed from the battlements, the beautiful vineyards in the environs were cleared out and dressed by the hands of the owners, and, contrary to the order of things for above a century, the Crescent appeared triumphant over the Cross.

Overjoyed at his success, the Grand Vizier determined to cross the Danube and to expel the Russians from the Turkish territory. He succeeded in deceiving the Russian general as to the real point he intended to pass the river, and in a few days he dexterously effected the passage, with thirty thousand men, and fifty pieces of cannon, and they established themselves in a large intrenched camp. At the same time, an equal force on the right bank, under the Grand Vizier in person, had erected a sort of temporary city in which his tent was decked out with unusual splendour.

Kutusoff resolved to hazard an expedition to the opposite bank, in order, if possible, to dislodge the enemy from the ground whence the camp was supplied with provisions. This operation was intrusted to General Markoff, who succeeded in getting over ten battalions and five hundred horse, and he proceeded instantly to attack the Turkish camp on the right bank. The surprise was complete: the Turks made scarcely any resistance. The magnificent tent of the Grand Vizier, the whole baggage and stores of the army, an immense number of horses, camels and carriages, and prodigious booty, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost but eight men in this felicitous attack. Markoff, however, without casting a thought on the booty, seized the Turkish batteries, which he turned against the enemy on the other side, where the remainder of the Russian army, drawn up in battle array, witnessed his triumph. Eighty pieces of cannon thundered against the Ottoman camp; and meanwhile the Grand Vizier in vain proposed an armistice with a view to negotiations for peace. Had Kutusoff taken advantage of the enthusiasm of the moment, and the consternation of the enemy, and instantly led his troops to the attack of the intrenched camp on the left bank, there can be

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little doubt that it would have been carried, and perhaps the whole Turkish army destroyed. But Kutusoff, who was essentially cunning and cautious, did not possess the intrepidity and daring for this bold measure. The circumstances of the Turks were now wholly desperate. Two hundred pieces of cannon on both sides of the Danube kept up an incessant fire on them night and day. A strong flotilla above and below precluded all access or escape by water; a formidable semicircle of redoubts with batteries in their interstices, enclosed them on the land side; their provisions were soon exhausted; forage there was none for the horses; their tents were burned for fuel; and the troops, during the damp nights of autumn, lay on the open ground, exposed to a ceaseless tempest of shot. Yet all these accumulated horrors could not shake the firm mind of the Turkish general. He repeatedly refused most advantageous offers of capitulation; and after having consumed his last horse, he was forming the audacious project of cutting his way by a sudden irruption through the Russian left, and intrenching himself opposite to Roustchouk, and under the shelter of its guns, when a convention concluded at Giurgevo, in the end of October, with a view to a peace between the two powers, put an end to the miseries and saved the honour of these brave men.

When the Russians entered the blood-stained intrenchments, the interior told how dreadful had been the sufferings of the heroic defenders. The ground was strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses, which the survivors had not possessed sufficient strength to inter; limbs struck off by cannon-shot, broken arms, overturned gun-carriages, and putrid corpses lay on all sides; the earth, in many places, was even ploughed up by the shot; but the survivors, though pale and emaciated, preserved their calm and resolute air. Five thousand, amidst the respect of their enemies, delivered up their arms, with fifty-one guns; above twelve thousand had perished by disease or the sword, since the cannonade commenced.

Thus concluded the operations of the campaign, in which both parties had made prodigious efforts, and *neither* had gained decisive success. The Russians, well

aware of the formidable contest with Napoleon which was impending over them, were anxious at any price to terminate the hostilities on the Danube, and to bring Kutusoff's forces to the assistance of the armies on the Niemen. Every attempt was made by the French to retain the Turks in hostilities with Russia; but the concurring testimony of the ambassadors who assisted at the conferences, removed all doubts from the minds of the Turkish ministers, as to the imminent danger to which the empire would be exposed, should Napoleon obtain the same supremacy in Eastern which he had long enjoyed in Western Europe. The English made them acquainted with the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, by which the French Emperor not only agreed to the entire partition of their European dominions, Constantinople and Roumelia excepted, but had actually stipulated for the largest shares, viz., Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, Albania, and Macedonia to himself. Russia, a party to that scheme of plunder, revealed them fully to the Turkish ambassadors. Austria disclosed the offer made to her of Servia and Bosnia, while Czerny George, alarmed at the clear proofs which had been adduced of the intention to dethrone him in the scramble, gave ample details of the inquiries and surveys made by Marshal Marmont immediately after the treaty of Tilsit, to ascertain the most expedient mode of effecting the conquest of the French share in the partition.

The Divan no longer hesitated, and on the 28th of May 1812, the peace of Bucharest was concluded. It was stipulated that the Pruth was henceforth to form the boundary of the two nations. Although the Cabinet of St. Petersburg lost Moldavia and Wallachia, which they had declared part of their empire, they gained Bessarabia, which gave them the advantage of commanding the mouths of the Danube. Tschichagoff, who had been sent from St. Petersburg to conclude the treaty, set off from Bucharest for the Vistula at the head of forty thousand men, who appeared with fatal effect on the great theatre of Europe, at the passage of the Beresina.

The vigorous and patriotic resistance which Turkey at this period opposed to the Russians, sufficiently illustrates the elements of strength which lay dormant in the Ottoman

empire. A proper knowledge of this protracted and bloody war, together with the recent exhibitions of the energy and discipline of the Turkish army, ought to modify some of those opinions which have so long been received as political maxims in Europe, as to the feeble and continually declining power of the Grand Seignior. When it is recollected that Russia for three years directed her whole force against the Turks; that in the year 1810, she had a hundred thousand men upon the Danube; and that this army was composed of the heroes of Eylau, it certainly appears not a little surprising that the Ottoman empire was not overwhelmed in the shock. Nevertheless the contest was extremely equal; and although the forces with which the Ottomans had to contend on the Danube, equalled those which fronted Napoleon on the Vistula, yet the Turks opposed nearly as effectual a resistance to the Muscovite arms, as did the conqueror of Western Europe. The contest began on the Danube, and it terminated after three years' bloodshed, on the same river, with the loss of only one or two frontier towns to the Ottomans. The political power of Turkey has unquestionably declined for the last century and a half; and the abuses of its civil government have occasioned during that period a constant diminution of its inhabitants, yet it still possesses great resources which are always drawn forth by impending danger. In the native bravery of the Turks, is to be found more than a compensation for all the errors of their direction or government.

Sultan Mahmoud, who attempted to resist the decay, and draw forth, under more enlightened guidance, the still powerful resources of the Ottoman empire, was one of those remarkable men whose character has stamped an impress on the age in which he lived. Although bred in the seclusion and effeminacy of the harem, he possessed the native courage and hardihood of his race. Little informed by education or social intercourse, he had sagacity to perceive the increasing inferiority of the Mahometan to the Christian empires, and courage to undertake what was thought to be the remedy. He did not, like most of his countrymen, ascribe the decline of his dominions to the *irresistible* decrees of fate, and he vigorously applied him-

self to avert the evil. He sought by the destruction of the privileged classes, and the introduction of European discipline and usages, both in civil and military affairs, to communicate to his aged empire a portion of the energy of western civilization. The contest with ancient habits, engrafted upon law and sanctified by religion, was long and obstinate, and the catastrophe by which it was brought to a close, in the destruction of the Janizaries in 1825, is one of the most awful recorded in history. This event, which for a time endangered the safety of the empire, stamped the character of Mahmoud for all future ages. It bespoke fearless energy and undaunted courage. Braving the perils that had proved fatal to so many of his race, he subdued them all, and fixed, by his single hand, a different impress upon the institutions of a vast empire.

Political regeneration in all states is of slow growth; and it is difficult and dangerous especially in a Mahometan empire. Nevertheless, a very remarkable improvement has of late years taken place in Turkey, not merely in the science of military tactics and discipline, but in the civil institutions of the empire. The religious and civil institutions of the Koran may appear to preclude expansion and alteration, and if rigidly adhered to, may be inconsistent with the adoption of foreign usage. But when it is remembered that the Ulema, whose duty it is to interpret the Koran, invariably discover that the injunctions of the Prophet are never hostile to that which they themselves desire, it at once appears that the Koran is not such a barrier against improvement as is often supposed. The Ulema have long been an ambitious, intriguing and turbulent body; but as they are now brought completely under the subjection of the crown, it may easily be supposed that henceforth the Koran will not stand in the way of enlightened and beneficial reforms. Much, indeed, may still depend upon the genius and temper of the Sovereign; but with the march of improvement, the despotic power of the Sultan must gradually give way; and from the lesson which the Turks have lately been taught, it can scarcely be supposed that any future Sultan will be so thoroughly benighted as not to listen in some measure to the council of more enlightened nations, and to imitate

their example as far as is consistent with the safety of the state.

The difficulty of introducing sudden and violent changes into the institutions of a country has already been noticed; and owing to the peculiar religion and long established habits of the Turks, it is extremely hazardous in that country. The violent revolutions which have just been narrated are illustrations of this remark; and the ultimate success of the introduction of the European discipline and tactics into the army, how difficult soever at first, clearly proves that the Turks are as susceptible and as capable of improvement as any other people. On the other hand, the danger of this change was clearly manifested. The power of Turkey appeared to be irrecoverably broken by the destruction of the Janizaries; the national resources had been ruined; and it became painfully evident that the vigour of a different civilization was not to be easily acquired. This appeared decisively in the next contest which ensued; the line of the Danube was no longer maintained; the Balkan ceased to be an impassable barrier; in two campaigns, Russia was at Adrianople; in one the Pasha of Egypt was within a few days march of Scutari.

The Janizaries had long been a serious evil, and they continually opposed every species of improvement; and by their power and capricious turbulency, were at the bottom of all the revolutions which so frequently disturbed the state; but they constituted the military strength of the nation. They were identified with its religious spirit; they were interwoven with its most venerable institutions. When a state has attained mature years, and consolidated its power, all innovations on its institutions, especially of a religious character, must be gradually and cautiously introduced. It is rare that any sudden transition can be made with safety. A certain character has been imprinted by the hand of nature upon every old established nation; and any organic change in its religious or political institutions, suddenly and incautiously introduced, will in all probability accelerate its downfall. The recent modifications, however, introduced into the civil and military institutions of Turkey, dictated by an enlightened spirit, and carefully engrafted upon the

old stem, appear to be destined to produce the most important and beneficial results. The gradual development of the civil and social condition of a country, becomes observable only after the lapse of years; but the introduction of European habits and discipline into the Turkish army is already sufficiently apparent. Opposed to troops scarcely second to any in Europe, greatly inferior in point of numbers, more especially in cavalry and artillery, they have of late, in every engagement, shown themselves superior to the enemy in discipline and bravery, and, indeed, in everything pertaining to military science. Such rapid improvements indicate that the Turkish nation is capable, under a liberal and enlightened government, of maintaining its independence; and the presence of the English and French armies will serve to dissipate many of those prejudices which have long been the bane of Turkish policy, and lead to the gradual adoption of the institutions of the Western states.

Mahmoud being now relieved from foreign danger, and when no cloud seemed to bode future evil, began to display those qualities of courage, energy, and political wisdom, which have stamped him as one of the ablest potentates of his time. The total dissolution of social order in the provinces demanded his immediate attention, and he resolutely commenced to reduce the great officers of his empire within the bounds of obedience. In a few years he restored order and tranquillity to the greater part of his distracted empire. The task was difficult and dangerous, and would have appalled any Sultan of less courage and energy than Mahmoud. It seems extraordinary how the Ottoman empire, parcelled out as it was among a number of rebellious satraps, assailed by powerful enemies from without, and distracted by contentions and bloodshed within, could, by any process whatever, be made to preserve a bond of civil and national concord. Each of his rebellious feudatories, within a few years, closed his romantic career. The accumulated wealth of the rapacious chiefs flowed to the Sultan, and served to recruit his exhausted treasury. Paswan Oglu's death dissolved the union which that extraordinary man had formed with his native place, and restored Widdin to the control of a new governor. Czerni Georges, who had erected

an independent principality, had been expelled from Servia after fifteen years of bloodshed; and although possessed of a splendid fortune and every distinction which wealth could confer, he wearied of a life of languor and of ease. The restless chief entered the Turkish dominions in disguise, but was soon discovered by the watchful emissaries of the Porte. He was dragged before the Pasha of Belgrade, by whose command the Servian chief expiated, with his blood, a life of cruelty and crime.

The Sultan had a more difficult task to perform in reducing the refractory Pasha of Janina. Ali Pasha, the Lion of Janina, as he was called, was born in a little village of Epirus in 1748. His father, Veli-Bey, was a private soldier in one of those bands of nomad adventurers common in Albania, where men become alternately heroes and banditti. His mother was a woman of great beauty, but of a savage and energetic character, in whose veins some of the blood of Scanderbeg is said to have flowed. She transmitted to her son Ali, the energy, the passions, and the ferocity of her race. His early career was replete with striking and remarkable incidents, exhibiting at times all the tenderness of a romantic passion, all the qualities of a hero, all the remorseless cruelty of the savage. He became Pasha of Janina in 1788. This extraordinary chief, the most artful and audacious recorded in the Ottoman annals, preserved a studious neutrality between the Sultan and his rebellious vassals and indomitable mountaineers. With thirty thousand disciplined Mussulmans under his orders, he maintained a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks. The power and talents of Ali Pasha, rendered him an object of importance to the Sultan as well as to the Greeks, and he was courted alike by both parties. He turned his hostility, at the instigation of the Porte, against the Souliotes, who had taken up arms in favour of the Russians, and reduced them to subjection with great slaughter; and at the request of the Sultan, on the occasion of his conflicts with the Janizaries, he advanced to the gates of Adrianople at the head of eighty thousand men. Such was the influence of Ali at this time with the Divan, that his two sons, Veli and Mouctar, were appointed to important commands in the Morea; while

he himself, secure in his inaccessible fortress in the lake of Janina, revolved in his mind dark schemes of conquest and independence. His influence extended over all Thessaly; and the position of the Pashalik and its contiguity to the Ionian isles, invested Ali with the rank and consideration of a respectable potentate. In 1821, he took possession of Parga, which brought under his dominion the whole of central Greece, from the ridge of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum. The Sultan having received intelligence of his designs, summoned him to Constantinople. The crafty Pasha disobeyed the command, upon which the Sultan prepared with all the energy of his character to reduce him to submission. Chourchid Pasha received the command of an army of forty thousand men, with which he approached Albania. When the Greek revolution broke out, he had already been two years engaged in ceaseless hostilities with its indomitable mountaineers.

Within his inaccessible fortress in the lake, for three months Ali had been closely blockaded. Provisions were beginning to fail, and the garrison, worn out with incessant watching, and destitute of hope, gave way to the seductions of Chourchid Pasha, who promised them a large share of the treasures if they would betray their chief. Caretto, Ali's chief engineer, betrayed his master, and carried to the besiegers all the plans adopted for the defence of the fortress. Aided by this information and the defection of part of his Albanian garrison, the fortress was occupied, after a feigned resistance, by the troops of Chourchid. Ali escaped into an inner tower communicating with the fortress by a draw-bridge. This tower consisted of three stories, to the highest of which he retired with his harem, and fifty armed and trusty followers; in the second his treasures were deposited; and in the lowest was placed a powder magazine with every preparation ready, at a moment's warning, to blow the edifice into the air. His treasures and his head were what the besiegers most coveted. The means of negotiating were therefore in his own hands; and the savage but heroic chief, whose energy seventy-eight years had not abated, calmly awaited the proposals of his enemies. Deserted by his family, betrayed by his friends, and left to contend against

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the most appalling dangers, Ali showed himself more magnanimous in adversity, than he had ever been in the day of his power. In his desperate situation, he maintained an unshaken firmness and tranquillity.

The situation of the chief was hopeless; and preferring the chances of pardon, to the inevitable fate which awaited him, he listened to the perfidy of Chourchid Pasha, who held out the prospect of a favourable capitulation. Ali was to enjoy his treasures, his harem, and the title of Vizier, with a suitable command in Asia Minor during his life. It was stipulated, however, in return, that Ali should remove from his tower, and take up his residence on an island in the lake, on which a pleasure-house had been constructed for his reception, and there await the firman containing the pardon of the Sultan, and the entire restoration to his favour. Ali became the victim of his own arts. He removed, with his wife and a few intrepid Albanians, to the island; and he even delivered, although with some difficulty, to the officers of Chourchid Pasha, a signet ring, the well-known token which enjoined implicit obedience on all his servants. The Turks instantly rowed across the lake, and ascended the tower which contained the treasures. The faithful guardian of the magazine, who stood at the door with a lighted torch in his hand ready to blow it into the air in the case of alarm, bowed with respect before the talisman, and extinguished the torch. He was instantly despatched by repeated strokes of the poniard; and the perfidious assassin, rowing back to Ali's island, presented to him the fatal firman, which, instead of the promised pardon, contained the order for his immediate death. As soon as he saw it, Ali exclaimed, "Stop! what are you bringing me?" "The order of the Sultan," replied Hassan, the officer; "he demands your head." "The head of Ali," said the Pasha, "is not so easily won;" and drawing his pistols he laid Hassan at his feet with one, and with another, the chief of the staff Chourchid. A frightful conflict ensued between Ali's faithful guard and his assassins, in the course of which Ali was mortally wounded by a ball in the side. "Run," said he, "and put to death Vasiliki, my wife, that she may follow me to the tomb, and the traitors

may not sully her beauty." These were his last words. The dead body of Ali, drawn by the beard, was pulled to the door, where his head was cut off and sent to the Sultan. Vasiliki, in tears was led to Chourchid's tent, who treated her with respect, and accorded her permission to inter her husband; "and the valleys of Pindus soon resounded with the death-wail of the Lion of Janina."

The head of Ali was brought to Constantinople, and exposed at the gate of the Seraglio in a silver dish. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed in the capital, as if, by the destruction of a single chief, the Turks had annihilated all their enemies.

A romantic immortality has been conferred on the Pasha of Janina, who for thirty years virtually ruled over continental Greece and Epirus, by the intercourse he had with Lord Byron, whose stanzas frequently refer to the Pasha, and to the grand and gloomy scenery of Albania.

The traveller on proceeding from Constantinople, by the gate of Selyviria, may observe a small and retired cemetery, on the parapet wall of which, raised on the wayside, are five Turkish tombstones. From the manner of their arrangement, they form peculiarly striking objects. These are the monuments of Ali Pasha, his three sons and his grandson. Their five heads were purchased of the public executioner at a great price, and interred by the person who long transacted the duties of the Pasha's confidential agency at the capital.

Mahmoud was indebted to the Viceroy of Egypt for rescuing the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina from the Wahabites, and restoring it to the faithful Mussulmans who annually resort to the birth-place and tomb of the Prophet. For many years, these spots, so sacred to the followers of Islamism, had been interdicted to their vows. The Wahabites not only occupied the province of Nedjed, but carried their incursions as far as Bagdad, and spared not the splendid shrines of Kerbela and Meshed Ali. The Imams of Sunna and Muscat were tributaries to Sahoud Abdallah; the isles of Baherin received his governor; the Shah of Persia propitiated his friendship by magnificent gifts.

In the year 1816, Mahomet Ali acquainted Sahoud Ab-

dallah that he would send his son Ibrahim Pasha with a numerous army to ruin the country and exterminate the inhabitants, and leave not one stone standing upon another in his capital, Derayah, and that he would lead him dead or alive to Constantinople. Agreeably to this threat, Ibrahim, in the month of September, started upon his expedition. He embarked his troops on board a flotilla at Suez, and steered his course down the Red Sea, and cast anchor in the port of Sambo. In six days afterwards, and without opposition, he reached the city of Medina. The situation of Ibrahim would have been critical, had not a powerful Sheik, who sought to revenge the blood of his brother on Abdallah, united his tribe with the Egyptian forces. In the course of two years Ibrahim had successfully detached from the Wahabite cause their allies and chief dependencies; and after the capture of all the principal cities and strongholds, he reached the province of Nedjed, the seat of Abdallah's power. The siege of Derayah commenced in the month of April, and although the Arabs could not face the artillery of the Egyptians, it was the month of September before Abdallah was reduced to submission. Abdallah sought the tent of the conqueror, and requested a conference. "Why did you continue the war?" demanded Ibrahim. "Destiny willed it; but the war is ended," was the chief's reply. "If you desire to defend yourself longer, I will supply you with ammunition," exclaimed Ibrahim. "No, God has favoured your arms; it is not your soldiers but His will which thus humbleth me," replied Abdallah. Tears were ready to start from the eyes of the Arab chief, when Ibrahim sought to console him, saying, "that many as elevated as himself had felt the reverse of fortune." Abdallah demanded peace: Ibrahim granted it, but observed that he was not authorized to leave him at Derayah, as his father's orders were to send him to Egypt. Abdallah grew thoughtful, and demanded a delay of twenty-four hours to give his answer. The request was granted, and the vanquished hero retired into the fort. Scarcely had he left the tent when Ibrahim began to reflect that he might never again be master of Abdallah's person. During the short interview he had been favourably impressed with Ibrahim, and the once powerful Arab, faith-

ful to his word, delivered himself to the conqueror. The chief, at the expiry of the twenty-four hours, was received with the most studied respect. When the Pasha demanded how he had decided, he replied, "that he was resolved to go, provided he was assured of his life." The prince replied, "that it did not become him to control the will of the Sultan or of his father, but he considered both of them as too generous and noble to cause his death." Abdallah then recommended his family to Ibrahim's care, and besought him not to injure Derayah; and having received a white handkerchief as a token of peace, he retired to make preparations for his journey. Abdallah traversed the desert, with a guard of four hundred men. Thus was the sacred territory again restored to the Sultan.

On the 18th of November, 1818, Abdallah was presented to Mahomet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. During the interview he held a small ivory box in shape of a writing case, and the Viceroy demanded what it was: he replied that it contained what Sahoud, his father, had taken from the tomb of the Prophet. On opening the box, there appeared three magnificent copies of the Koran, garnished with rubies on the envelope, and adorned with three hundred pearls of large dimensions, and an emerald attached to a cord of gold. Abdallah sailed for Constantinople. The Viceroy had solicited his pardon, but the divan were implacable, and Abdallah was sacrificed to gratify the resentment of an ignorant and fanatical people. This prince, after being paraded along the streets of the capital for three days, was, together with his unfortunate companions, beheaded in the square of St. Sophia. Thus perished Abdallah ebn Sahoud, the faithful and devoted chief of a brave and warlike race.

Thus had Sultan Mahmoud triumphed over the most powerful chiefs that had long disturbed the internal tranquillity of the empire. Other pashas and agas were deposed; the hereditary pashaliks were abolished, and he suppressed the insolent Janizaries, who, under the influence and direction of the Ulema, had so long held the sovereign and capital in thralldom. Events of a more formidable nature, in which the most powerful states of Europe were interested, awaited the Sultan.

The repeated and unsuccessful insurrections of the Greeks had produced a more universal and bitter feeling of exasperation in Greece against the Osmanlis, than in any other part of the Ottoman dominions. Deeds of cruelty had been mutually inflicted, deadly threats interchanged which could never be forgotten nor forgiven. The arrogant disposition and furious temper of the Turks, which is often obliterated during the tranquillity of peace, reappeared with terrible severity when danger threatened their power. But they had as great injuries to avenge; for in political as well as civil and social contests, the cruel law of retaliation is the inviolable resource of suffering humanity. It is tolerably certain that the rebellion of Ali Pasha, determined more than any other event the period of that extensive insurrection, for which Greece had long been in a state of preparation. The explosion was premature; and other circumstances concurred to excite the fermentation which led to the first irregular movement in the cause of Grecian independence.

While the Greek states of the Ottoman empire were involved in civil commotion, it was evident to the Turks that the agency of Russia was secretly at work in those parts of their dominions. Although the designs, perhaps, of immediate conquest were laid aside, the foundation was established for future inroads, by a crooked and stealthy policy, covered in their right of intervention, stipulated between the Russians and the Turks in the affairs of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and the islands in the Archipelago, by the treaties of Kainardji in 1774, Jassy in 1792, and Bucharest in 1812. The Divan did not foresee the use which might be made of this right; but it placed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg the means of availing itself at any time of some real or imaginary grievance, under which the Christian inhabitants of Turkey might be thought to labour, to declare war upon the Porte. All the subsequent wars between the two powers have taken their rise from these treaties. The pretext of Russia for the present war, which seems likely to involve all Europe in a conflagration, has arisen out of this right of intervention and a supposed protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte. But a *disinterested* interpretation of these treaties does not confer

upon Russia any of those extraordinary privileges to which she lays claim.

The necessity of preserving the independence of Turkey as an element in the balance of power, had been received as a political maxim which no cabinet in Europe pretended to dispute ; and determined to maintain that independence, the last three wars between Russia and Turkey had been terminated by the intervention of one or more of the leading European powers. By the congress of Vienna, it was sought to establish on a permanent footing the relation of the various European governments, to restore the ancient limits of some states, to re-establish the independence of others, and to unite all in an alliance, with the view to permanent tranquillity. It was considered indispensable to strip France of the acquisitions she had made, not in prudence only, but in justice ; but it did not appear to the victors that a restitution of their own acquisitions was also demanded by the same inflexible law, nor did it appear to them that it was at all necessary to re-establish the kingdoms which they themselves had overthrown. France, accordingly, was divested of her conquests : England restored foreign colonies in both hemispheres ; but Russia restored nothing. Finland, Poland, and all her conquests in Turkey and Persia were confirmed to her, or remained annexed to her crown. The proposition to re-unite the broken fragments of the Polish kingdom, was met by a declaration from Russia, Austria, and Prussia, that a million of men were ready to oppose it. Justice and sound policy alike demanded the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, the restitution of Finland to the Swedish crown, and a rearrangement of the Turkish frontiers. The British Cabinet was aware of the dangers that might arise to Europe from such an undue aggrandisement of Russia ; but the short-sighted policy of Austria and Prussia, who were themselves participators in the spoil, preferred present gain to ultimate security. There was therefore no power in Europe except Great Britain that could even presume to propose such restitutions ; and under the circumstances, how just soever might have been her demands, she was far from being in a position singly to enforce them. Turkey took no part in these negotiations, and gained no

advantage in the arrangements. Europe, indeed, needed repose, and no one power could have taken up arms without finding itself opposed by the moral influence, if not by the forces of the European community. Thus, chiefly through the revolutionary wars, Russia has acquired a preponderating influence, both moral and physical, over the central states of Europe. Her position in the Baltic appears to be almost impregnable; and her influence in that sea, since the termination of the war, has perhaps been greater than any other maritime power. Her exclusive command of the Black sea has enabled her to push her schemes of conquest in the east; she has restricted the commercial traffic of central Europe by her command of the mouths of the Danube; she has continually disturbed the tranquillity of the Ottoman empire, and by her naval superiority in the Euxine, she has been enabled to carry her legions over the Danube and the Balkan, and to threaten Constantinople itself.

Turkey, though no party to the alliance which had charged itself with preserving tranquillity, yet profited by the moral feeling which would have condemned the first infraction of peace as a crime. Nations were invited to submit their differences to the decisions of a congress, which assembled from time to time, in different parts of Europe, to adjust the various questions that might have arisen between them. Although no international war had disturbed the general repose, intestine commotions interrupted the internal tranquillity of different European states. Spain attempted a revolution which was suppressed by the armies of France. Portugal was occupied by England as a counterpoise to the French power in the Peninsula. Revolutions in Italy were put down, not without foreign interference; and a civil war in Greece engaged the Ottoman empire in a protracted and disastrous contest.

Catherine II. of Russia, as has been already shown, fomented rebellions in Greece and other Christian provinces, with the view to the ultimate if not the immediate conquest of the Ottoman empire. The Turkish fleet had been delivered by the Russians to the flames in the bay of Tchesme; Constantine had been christened by that name, because the *Empress* designed him for the successor of Constantine

Palæologus, the last of the Cæsars; and the intervention of the European powers in 1789, prevented that design from being accomplished, and the cross being restored on the dome of St. Sophia. The cabinet of St. Petersburg has at all times evinced a desire to preserve her intercourse with the Greeks; and on this occasion the first movement was produced by officers in her service. It is impossible to doubt that the power which had so clearly evinced its disposition to extend its influence in the Levant, would not avail itself of the first opportunity to shake the Ottoman power to the foundation, by establishing an independent state in Greece.


After the fall of Buonaparte the peace of Europe was obviously necessary to Russia, and with that view her government had been the most active in organizing the alliance for that desirable purpose. But true to the policy which she had prescribed to herself, she influenced through her secret agency, if she did not excite, the revolt in Greece. Affecting publicly to act upon the principles she professed, she offered to aid the Porte in suppressing the rebellion which that cabinet attributed exclusively to her agency. The proposition was at once rejected by the Sultan. The Russian ambassador at Constantinople forthwith resorted to every means to bring about a rupture with Turkey, merely because she persevered in her attempts, in virtue of her own right, to suppress a rebellion which Russia had first instigated, and then gratuitously offered to put down. The cabinet of St. Petersburg suspended its diplomatic relations with the Porte, and inflicted the greatest indignities upon the Turkish government. But Sultan Mahmoud had too much penetration and energy not to foresee the designs of Russia, and not to resist the threats and insinuations of that power. Russian agents inflamed the petty differences between Persia and Turkey; induced the Prince Royal, in opposition to the wishes of the Shah and the advice of Great Britain, to invade the Ottoman dominions; and attempted to justify to the father the disobedience of the son. It was evident, from these and other transactions, to every cabinet in Europe, that Russia was anxious to force Turkey into a war; but peace was still dominant in Europe. The congress of Verona

formally acknowledged the right of the Sultan to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his subjects, whether Christian or Mahometan. This decision was officially announced to the Porte by the British ambassador, and the question appeared to be decided.

REVOLUTION IN GREECE.

Greece, compared to the great figure it has made in human affairs, is of extremely small extent. Including the Cyclades, its entire population in 1836, was only 688,000 souls; in superficial extent it is less than Scotland, and not half the size of Ireland. The density of the population is only thirty-one to the square mile, while in England it is three hundred. Owing to the benignity of the climate, however, and the advantages of its situation for maritime purposes, it is extremely fruitful, and yields an amount of produce far beyond what could have been anticipated from its scanty population. Its value within the straits of Thermopylæ amounted in 1814 to £3,000,000 annually. Its rocky slopes which, in Northern Europe, would produce only furze or heath, are capable, owing to the genial warmth of the sun, of bearing rich crops of grapes, maize, and olives. The mountain chains are extremely steep and numerous, and intersect each other in many directions; and they are covered with forests, sharp pointed stones, or breaks of thorny plants, and intersected by numberless deep ravines, the beds of water torrents. Independent of the many enchanting associations connected with Greece, the mountain scenery is of surpassing sublimity and grandeur, and the valleys and plains are of remarkable beauty and fertility.

Four centuries of servitude had not annihilated the distinctive features of the Greeks. Although subjected to the dominion of the Ottoman, they retained their nationality, their country, their language, their religion. In these we perceive the means of ultimate salvation and the elements of future independence. Notwithstanding the government of the Turks, peculiarly oppressive to a people of different manners, language, and religion, possessing the elements of



independence, and feeling a strong sense of oppression and a desire of vengeance, the Greeks in some places had come to enjoy a very high degree of prosperity. Various circumstances had contributed in the early part of the nineteenth century to increase in them the material sources of national strength. The trade through Turkey into Hungary and all the centre of Europe, in consequence of the continental blockade during the last ten years of the war, had been attended with extraordinary profits, and had come to exceed £3,000,000 annually of exports from Britain alone. This trade had been entirely engrossed by the Greeks. Their traffic in the Levant was carried in 600 vessels, bearing 6,000 guns, and manned by 18,000 seamen.

Twenty-five years have elapsed since the independence of Greece was sealed by the battle of Navarino; and the hopes of her friends, in many respects, have not been disappointed. Her capital, Athens, contains thirty thousand inhabitants, quadruple what it did when the contest terminated; its commerce has doubled, and many of the signs of advancing prosperity are to be seen in the land. The inhabitants have increased fifty per cent.; but the chasms produced by the war, especially in the male population, are still in a great measure unsupplied. But the Greeks have not all the virtues of freemen; perhaps they are never destined to exhibit them. Like the Muscovites, they are cunning, fraudulent, deceitful; slaves are always such. A thousand years of Byzantine despotism, and four hundred years of Mahometan oppression, have left these prominent features stamped upon their national character. They still, however, possess many of the qualities to which the greatness of their ancestors was owing. They are lively, ardent, and persevering, passionately desirous of knowledge, and indefatigable in the pursuit of it. The greater part of the commercial life and activity which yet animates the Ottoman empire is owing to their intelligence and activity. The descendants of the ancient Hellenes still exhibit in their persons the beautiful classic forms which we admire in the works of ancient masters. They are giddy, vacillating, vain, and boasting; but they have proved themselves worthy of their heroic ancestors. They have in general a fine and slender shape,

their motions are noble, their features expressive, and their dress clean and elegant. The women are slender, with fine features, an expressive countenance, and their manners are full of dignity. Mr. Emerson mentions that on an examination of the traits of Greek character peculiar to each district, we shall, upon the whole, find the seeds of numerous virtues, however slightly developed, still discernible under a mass of vices; and which, when properly cultivated, under an equitable government, cannot fail to raise the Greeks high in the scale of nations. Their characters, however, are very different, according to their position and circumstances. The Albanians, for instance, have ceased to be considered either Mussulmans or Greeks. Those who have been closely connected with the Turks are less amiable and exalted in their character, than the inhabitants of what is now termed Eastern and Western Greece. The descendants of the ancient Spartans, in the south-eastern promontory, seem possessed of the common virtues of barbarians, accompanied by almost all their vices. In the Hydriots and Spezziots there is much to admire and esteem, especially among the higher orders.

The Greek church, which has been embraced by almost all the Selavonic nations in the north of Europe, presents Christianity in its most degraded form. It is in the protection of this religion, that Russia has found a cloak for all her infamous intrigues and wars against the Ottoman state. At a time when every person in Europe out of his own dominions, saw through his shallow and hypocritical protestations, the Czar, with his usual sympathy, sought the protectorate of the Christian subjects of an independent state, and rather than abandon his absurd and fallacious claims, and desist from what he would fain make the world believe a patriotic duty, he has plunged the most powerful states of Europe in war. The revolts of the Greek subjects of the Porte were invariably stirred up through the medium of the church. The crooked policy or the fanatical bigotry of the Greek princes who filled the throne of Byzantium, the pious frauds of their monks, combined with the credulity and superstition of an ignorant populace, have been continually loading their religion with new errors, new absurd-

dities, and new corruptions. Though its priests are more numerous than those of any other church, its rites and forms infinitely complicated, it is scarcely possible to trace one genuine idea of Christianity in the minds of either the clergy or the laity, or one trait of its influence on their practice. The fasts and festivals of the Greek church absorb about two-thirds of the year; and its whole tendency seems to be to render its votaries ignorant, superstitious, and bigoted.

As a natural consequence of an influx of prosperity, and a necessarily extended intercourse with foreign nations, there had arisen in the islands of Greece, and even in some of the principal towns of the continent, an anxious desire to be readmitted into the European family to which they felt they belonged by religion, language and recollections. These feelings were encouraged and strengthened by the intrigues of Russia, to which they mainly looked for assistance. They did not, however, venture to express them openly. With all the military force in the country and all the fortresses in the hands of the Mussulmans, it was evident to the Greeks that open insurrection would involve them in one common ruin. In these circumstances, they formed secret societies. A great association was formed of Greeks, not only in their own territory, but in Constantinople, Bavaria, Austria, and Russia, the object of which was to effect the entire independence of Greece. Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek by birth, and private secretary to the Emperor Alexander, encouraged the hope that the objects of the society were at least secretly espoused by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Like all other secret associations for revolutionary purposes, the society of the Hetairests had different gradations of members. The several grades were unknown to each other; and to the head or ruling class only, the whole secrets were known. The first class into which all Greeks without exception were admitted, were informed that the objects of the society were merely to ameliorate the social condition of the Greeks. The next class was selected with more discrimination, and called Systemenoi, or Bachelors; and they were apprised in secret, that the objects of the

society were to effect an entire revolution and severance from Turkey. The third class, termed *Priests of Eleusis*, were cautiously told that the period of the struggle approached; and even this class, although they knew that there existed in the Hetairia higher classes than their own, did not know of whom they were composed. Nearly the whole Greek priests belonged to this class, and it embraced no less than one hundred and sixteen prelates of their persuasion. The fourth class contained only sixteen names. The secrecy which surrounded this class added to its influence. It was known, however, that Count Capo d'Istria was of the number; and it was whispered at the time, and subsequent events have corroborated the fact, that amongst other illustrious names of which this unknown class was composed, were the Emperor of Russia, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the Hospodar of Wallachia. The seat of the grand circle or ruling committee, was in Moscow; their orders were written in cipher, and signed with a seal bearing in sixteen compartments as many initial letters. The society had secret signs and modes of recognition, some common to all members, others known only to the higher grades, each of which had separate signs, known only to themselves; and all contributed according to their means to the common objects of the society. Such was the constitution of the secret association which ultimately achieved the independence of Greece; and such was the secrecy with which its operations were conducted, that when the insurrection burst forth in 1821, the Mussulmans were taken as much by surprise as if the earth had suddenly opened under their feet.

The growing sympathy of the Christian population with the Greeks, had tinged every cabinet in Europe, and it seemed impossible that the affairs of Turkey could be judged with equity, or that they could calmly consider the political consequences that might arise out of a revolutionary contest. Russia saw the advantages which she could not fail to derive from the popular excitement in favour of the Christians and against the Mahometans. The other European powers, who were not unaware of the designs of Russia, looked upon *her* proffered intervention in behalf of the revolutionists in

Greece with alarm. There remained but the alternative of interdicting her by a threat of hostilities, or to curb her ambition by associating with her in the negotiations by which it was proposed to restore peace in the Levant, and to confine her interference solely to the accomplishment of that object. With this view the Emperor Nicholas, who had recently mounted the throne, was invited by England and France to unite with them in restoring tranquillity to Greece. The protocol signed at St. Petersburg restrained the three powers to a friendly mediation between the Sultan and his rebellious subjects. The Sultan declined to accept the proffered mediation, upon which, the three powers, founding their right to interfere on the interruption to which the commerce of the Mediterranean was subjected, by piracies in the Levant, concluded a treaty at London, on the 6th July 1827, by which they mutually engaged to enforce, by hostilities, if necessary, the adjustment of the differences between the Porte and the Greeks on terms to be prescribed to both parties. This arrangement still reserved to the Sultan the feudal superiority over Greece, and a yearly tribute from that country. These terms of settlement were indignantly rejected by the Porte. The result of this determination will appear in the sequel.

The public feeling in Europe had been strongly excited in favour of the Greeks, when the Spanish revolution of 1820 broke out. It was quickly followed by those in Naples, Sicily, Piedmont, and by an extraordinary fermentation alike in France, Germany, and England. These and other concurring circumstances, led, in the course of the following year, to the Greek revolution.

The first war-note of liberty was raised at Bucharest, by a band of Greeks and Arnauts, one hundred and fifty in number, under the command of Theodore Valdimaruko, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian service. So general had been the disaffection, that in a few days Theodore found himself at the head of twelve thousand men, to whom were soon added two thousand Arnauts, who formed the police of Bucharest. Ere long another insurrection equally formidable, broke out in Jassay, the capital of Moldavia. On the 7th March, 1821, Prince Alexander Ipsil-

lanti, an officer of distinction in the Russian service, entered Jassay at the head of two hundred horse, from whence he issued a proclamation, calling upon the Greeks to take up arms, and promising them the support of Russia. The insurgents soon amounted to twenty thousand, and to oppose this formidable body, the Turks had in the two provinces only six hundred cavalry. A battalion styled the Sacred Battalion, which embraced the flower of the youth of the country, was organized by Ipsilanti. Their uniform was black, with a cross formed of bones in front, with the famous inscription of Constantine, "In this sign you shall conquer." Ipsilanti diligently spread abroad the news of approaching aid from Russia, and he made large requisitions in horses and provisions for the alleged use of the troops of that power. Meanwhile the fermentation was extreme throughout all Greece and the isles, and the utmost alarm prevailed at Constantinople. The Ottoman government regarded the danger as serious, and in secret instigated by the agents of Russia. Intelligence of the insurrection was conveyed to the Emperor Alexander in April, at the congress of Laybach, who, with other sovereigns was engaged in deliberating on the affairs of Spain, Naples, and Piedmont. These events opened up bright prospects to Russian ambition. Had the Russian army crossed the Pruth, the insurrection of the Christian population in the Ottoman dominions would have been universal; and in the then disorganized state of the Turkish empire, the insurgents, aided by the Muscovite battalions, might in all probability have totally annihilated the Ottoman empire in Europe. But such bold and open perfidy did not suit the genius of Russia. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg was aware, that how much soever the other nations of Europe were occupied with their domestic troubles and social dangers, that they would not allow Russia to seize the Ottoman states, and that if she attempted to do so, she would involve herself in war with the most powerful monarchies in Europe, for which she was by no means prepared.

In this critical state of matters, orders were sent to the imperial forces on the Pruth and in the Black Sea, to ob-

serve the strictest neutrality; and the name of Ipsilanti was erased from the Russian service.

The religious zeal and patriotic ardour of the Ottomans were now fairly roused. Large bodies daily crossed over from Asia, and marched through the capital to the Balkan and the Danube. The tumultuary bands of Theodore and Ipsilanti, discouraged by the policy of Russia, were totally unequal to the contest in the plains of Moldavia and Wallachia. On the 9th of April the Russian consul at Jassay issued, by the command of the Emperor, two proclamations which were decisive of his intentions regarding the insurrection. By the first, Ipsilanti was summoned forthwith to repair to the Russian territory, while by the second, the whole Moldavians in arms, were summoned forthwith to submit to the lawful authorities. Ipsilanti was on his march to Bucharest when he received this disastrous intelligence, but he was not discouraged. His forces consisted of 4,000 infantry, 2,500 horse, and four guns; and conceiving that nothing but decisive success would restore his fortune, he posted himself at the village of Dragaschan. The situation of the Turks was critical; but as the day was Tuesday, which is deemed of sinister augury by the Greeks, the action was deferred till the morning of the 19th, and the Turks had not failed to take advantage of the interval. Ipsilanti's Wallachian confederates deserted him in the hour of trial. The victory was complete. Twenty-five only of the Sacred Battalion were saved from the sabres of the Turks, who escaped with their chief into Transylvania. Ipsilanti was seized by the Austrians and consigned to a dungeon. With the defeat of Ipsilanti the insurrection in Wallachia and Moldavia was entirely suppressed.

. While in Wallachia the voice of liberty was stifled in its birth, it sounded a louder note along the shores and islands of the Ægean Sea, and was re-echoed from Sparta to Macedonia. Colocotroni, formerly a major in the service of Russia, Peter Marvo, Michael, and other chiefs, who had been prepared for the event, had been collecting arms all winter in the caverns of Mount Taygetus; and having received orders from Ipsilanti, they assembled their followers in the mountains, in the centre of the Peloponnesus, and raised

the standard of revolt. The Morea, however, was the principal theatre of action, and a general congress was formed at Calamata for the purpose of union and subordination. The whole islands of the Archipelago hoisted the standard of the cross; and Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, the strongest and most powerful among them, supplied a marine of more than a hundred armed vessels, manned by the best and bravest seamen in the empire, to protect their shores, and intercept the commerce of the enemy.

The intelligence of these events fell like a thunderbolt upon the populace of Constantinople. Roused to fresh exertions and inspired with more sanguinary passions by the continual passage of armed and fanatical Turks from Asia towards the Danube, death to the Christians was the universal cry of the Mussulmans. They could not at first believe that the slaves of Greece would boldly court destruction from the strong arm of their Ottoman masters. The Divan, in the hope of crushing the insurrection in the bud, resolved on an atrocious act, which greatly tended to spread and perpetuate the insurrection. This was the murder of Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople. He was eighty years of age, and was seized on Easter Sunday, as he was descending from the altar, and hanged at the gate of his archiepiscopal palace amid the ferocious cries of a vast crowd of Mussulmans. After hanging for three hours, his body was cut down and delivered to a few abandoned Jews, by whom it was dragged through the streets and thrown into the sea. Many others shared the same fate. Similar atrocities were committed at Adrianople. In ten days several thousand innocent persons were in this manner massacred. At Salonica the battlements of the town were lined with a frightful array of Christian heads, the blood from which ran down the front of the rampart and discoloured the water in the ditch. In all the great towns in the empire similar scenes were enacted. It appeared to the Greeks that no hope remained but in determined resistance, and they were fired with more deadly enmity against their tyrants. The Greeks could not stifle in their bosoms the natural spirit of revenge, and they were led to imitate those savage acts of outrage and cruelty, at the bare recital of which humanity shudders.

During these convulsions which were shaking to the centre the Ottoman throne and awakening the indignation of all Europe, Sultan Mahmoud was revolving in his mind the organization of a more efficient military force in the capital. The Janizaries had taken the lead in all the massacres that had been committed; and discontented with the removal of their former vizier, who had given full reins to their fury, loudly demanded his recall to office, and the heads of six of their principal enemies in the council. The Sultan tried to subdue them by firmness; but having no other armed force, he soon found that such a course would lead to his own destruction. He was more than ever convinced of the necessity of a change: in the meantime he resolved to dissemble till his preparations for their thralldom were complete. It was resolved and agreed to in full Divan that a large body of troops should be organized, clothed, and drilled in the European fashion, and that the name of *Nizam-Djedeb*, which had cost Sultan Selim his life, should be forever abolished.

The atrocities perpetrated in Asia even rivalled those committed in European Turkey. There the Mussulmans were more numerous in proportion to the Christians; they had had less communication with Europeans; they were more ignorant, and therefore the fanatical spirit was more violent. The Mussulmans were in the exclusive possession of arms, and consequently they met with little resistance. Several thousands of men, women, and children fell victims to the most brutal violence. During the time of this wholesale butchery, fifteen thousand escaped in boats, and found shelter in the islands of the Archipelago. Such as could not escape in this manner, took refuge in the hotel and gardens of the French Consul who, by the weight of his character alone, kept the assassins at bay, till the boats were got ready to convey the trembling crowd to the adjacent islands. The island of Cyprus, separated by a wide expanse of sea from the mainland of Greece, blessed with a delicious climate, and deserving, if any spot of the globe did, the appellation of an earthly paradise, was for two months after it had elsewhere commenced, a stranger to rapine and bloodshed. But a body of troops sent by the Porte from the

neighbouring provinces of Syria and Palestine kindled the conflagration. Several thousand Christians fell under the Ottoman sabres, and their wives and daughters were conducted in triumph to the Mussulman harems. The chief towns of Nicosia and Famagusta were sacked and burnt, the metropolitan bishops and thirty-six other ecclesiastics executed; and in a few days the island presented a scene of ruin and desolation.

Such a melancholy catalogue of cruelty presents no new phasis of the human mind. Similar scenes have from time to time been enacted during the chequered history of human affairs. If the passions be violently excited, it seems to be of little consequence by what means the excitement is produced. The fury of democratic ambition, the fervour of religious enthusiasm, the delusions of superstition, the chains of despotism, have all led to the same results. If these general causes are capable of producing a national frenzy, there are other passions, which act within an individual sphere, no less potent. The dismal tragedies enacted in domestic life, paint the dark passions of jealousy, ambition, revenge. Nations as well as individuals are restrained by the feeling and the recognition of great moral principles; and when this restraint is lost or relaxed, by any cause whatever, national or individual, crime is the inevitable result. The critical position of the Turkish empire, a formidable rebellion in some of her most important provinces, which had been subject to Ottoman rule for upwards of four centuries, the secret agency of a foreign power at work in the very vitals of her dominions, whose hereditary ambition led her to exert the most base and fraudulent means to possess herself of Constantinople and the Bosphorus, together with the peculiar natural temperament of the Turks, may perhaps in some measure, lead us to understand the springs whence arose those horrible scenes enacted during the Greek revolution. Even recently, in more than one European state, subject to a constitutional government, and enjoying the blessings of the Christian religion, the same bloody drama has been exhibited. In the revolutions of the most enlightened states, deeds of cruelty, murder, confiscation, and exile, *fill up the dark picture.*

The dreadful series of atrocities which had been committed, and especially the murder of the Greek Patriarch, had the effect of spreading the insurrection through the whole of Greece. In the Morea, Attica, and the islands of the Archipelago, and indeed, wherever the Greek tongue was spoken, the flame spread far and wide. The Souliotes rose in Epirus : six thousand men were soon in arms in Thessaly : the mountaineers of Olympus responded to the signal of freedom. Thirty thousand hardy mountaineers rose in the peninsula of Cassandra, and laid siege to Salonica, a city containing eighty thousand inhabitants. Meanwhile the necessities of the Greeks led to the formation of some sort of government amidst the general chaos. At Hydra a board of the principal inhabitants was formed which soon obtained direction of the island : a council of military chiefs at Calamata, gave something like unity to the operations of the land forces, and a senate was established at Athens.

While the insurrection on the north of the Danube had received a deathblow, the success of the Greeks at sea restored their fortunes in the south. The Turkish fleet, which had sailed from the Dardanelles to check the incursions of the enemy, was totally destroyed, and the Greek cruisers obtained the full command of the Archipelago and the coasts of Greece. An insurrection broke out in Missolonghi which was immediately followed by the defection of the whole of Ætolia and Acarnania.

On the mainland, the operations of the Greeks, at times brightened by success or clouded with disaster, were not so successful. At Valtezza, with very inadequate means they gained decisive success over the Ottomans ; and although such victories were achieved by very small bodies of men, they were of the utmost importance, as counterbalancing the moral effect of the disaster at Dragaschau. The peasants now joyfully flocked to the standard of the independents ; twenty thousand men were soon in arms in the Peloponnese ; and the Turks, cautiously keeping on the defensive, remained shut up in their fortresses ; two of which, Navarino and Napoli-di-Malvasia, capitulated from famine in the beginning of August. Meanwhile the Turks forced the passes of Cassandra, large bodies of horse scoured the

plains of Thessaly and Bœotia, and spread fire and sword through their peaceful valleys. In several encounters in which the Greeks were successful the plan of the enemy's campaign had been entirely ruined; but the most important affair, in a military point of view, was the siege and reduction of Tripolitza. When the Greeks got possession of the town, a scene ensued which affixed the first dark stain on the cause of Greek independence. Previous to this, the Turkish commander, who confidently hoped for relief, had put to death eighty Christian priests, held as hostages in the town, which led to a frightful reprisal, and, as usual, involved the innocent and guilty in one promiscuous ruin. The wrongs and injuries of four centuries rose up in judgment against the Ottomans. The conquerors, mad with vindictive rage, spared neither age nor sex: the young and the old, the armed and the unarmed, men and women, Mahometans and Jews, were promiscuously massacred. The streets and houses were literally inundated with blood, and obstructed with heaps of dead bodies. The slaughter continued the whole night by the light of the burning houses; it went on all the next day; and when it ceased by the exhaustion of the victors, nine thousand bodies of all ages and sexes encumbered the streets of Tripolitza.

The capture of Tripolitza was of the utmost importance to the cause of the insurgents. They found there a considerable train of artillery, arms, and ammunition in abundance, and immense treasures, the long accumulation of Ottoman rapine, which laid the foundation of some of the principal fortunes in the Morea.

In the peninsula of Cassandra the Greeks were not so successful. Although they defended themselves bravely in their intrenchments, they were entirely routed, and three thousand fell under the Mussulman scimitars. Ten thousand women and children, with thirty thousand head of cattle, were taken and publicly sold in the market-place of Salonica.

While Greece was thus the theatre of a frightful civil war, the Turks were threatened with external danger, both in the east and north, scarcely less alarming. The Persians, secretly instigated by the agents of the Czar, declared war

against Turkey, and immediately invaded the pashalic of Bagdad with thirty thousand men, which, however, was not attended with great success.

Notwithstanding the pretended determination of the Emperor Alexander to abstain from all interference in the Greek war, it was evident, that although the cabinet of St. Petersburg did not openly espouse, they at least secretly encouraged, the rebellion in Greece. A circumstance occurred at this time, calculated to strengthen the impression that Russia was deeply implicated in the whole affair. M. Danesi, the banker to the Russian embassy, was arrested ostensibly for a debt of £3,000, but, really for having furnished funds to the Greek insurgents; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Russian ambassador, who reclaimed him as forming part of the embassy, he was sentenced to be beheaded, from which he only escaped by going into exile. In the circumstances, it was not difficult for the Russian ambassador to find causes of new quarrels; and hardly was this subject of discord appeased, when another and more serious one arose. The Porte issued an order that all neutral vessels passing through the Dardanelles should be searched, and it also prohibited the exportation of grain through the canal of the Bosphorus. These orders were vehemently opposed by the Russian minister, as interfering with the rights of the Russian merchants in the Black Sea. They were as strongly, and with more justice, maintained by the Sultan, as necessary to prevent succours being conveyed to the Greeks under the Russian flag, and within the acknowledged rights of a belligerent power. The execution of the Patriarch, and the massacres in Constantinople and in other chief towns of the empire, were next made the subject of complaint on the part of the Russian ambassador. The Divan replied by complaining that Russia had afforded an asylum at Odessa to the Greeks who had escaped from them; and urged that every government had a right to repress rebellion among its subjects by every means in its power. M. Strogonoff next protested against the entry of the Turkish forces into the Principalities, which the Porte entirely disregarded; and he declared that as long as the Turkish government continued, the Russians would never

refuse an asylum to any Greek who might demand it; and that if the system of violence continued, he would break off all diplomatic intercourse with the Porte. These complaints, so arbitrary on the part of M. Strogonoff, were constantly answered by the Divan, that no foreign power had a right to interfere between the Turkish government and its own subjects, and that the insurrection could not be subdued in any other way.

Matters at last came to such a point, that M. Strogonoff delivered the ultimatum of the Russian government to the Porte, which was required to be accepted unconditionally within eight days, failing which, he was to take his departure with his whole suite. The conditions demanded by Russia, were reparation for the insults offered to the Greek religion, expiation for the murder of its Patriarch, and the adoption of a more humane system of warfare in the contest with its Christian subjects. If these terms were not acceded to within the prescribed time, the Porte was openly threatened with the utmost hostility of Russia, and the support of the Greeks by the entire forces of Christendom. No answer was returned by the Divan to this menacing communication, and Baron Strogonoff applied for his passports, which were delivered to him, and he set sail for Odessa on the last day of July, with his whole suite, and several Greek families who had taken refuge in the Russian embassy. After the Russian ambassador had taken his departure, the Sublime Porte despatched a messenger to St. Petersburg, with an answer to the ultimatum, ante-dated, 26th July, the last day assigned for its reception. In this paper, which was a very able one, the Sultan does not deny some of the charges made against him, and founds his vindication on the obvious necessity of extinguishing a dangerous rebellion, and the general arming of the Mussulmans, by the threatening and undeniable danger of the Ottoman empire. In this emergency, it was no easy matter to appease the popular fury; and the Sultan himself was not safe from his bigoted and fanatical subjects.

The commencement of the year 1822, was signalled by the formation of a regular government, and the proclamation of the national independence of Greece. The cause of

the Greeks, however, sustained a grievous blow in the early part of the year, in the destruction of Ali Pasha. Although a Mahometan, he was at open war with the Sultan; and although distrusted by the Greeks and Souliotes, he had caused a most important diversion, by retaining a large proportion of the Ottoman forces around his impregnable walls. The Divan made extensive preparations for the approaching campaign. Chourchid Pasha was to unite the forces employed in the siege of Janina, and conjointly with the Pasha of Salonica, to invade the Morea with sixty thousand men. With the view of keeping the Russians in check, with whom a rupture was hourly expected, the army of the Grand Vizier, divided into two columns, was to move on Brahilow and Roustchuck. Thirty thousand men were collected among the warlike tribes of Asia to protect the frontiers of Georgia. At the same time, a respectable fleet was fitted out for the purpose of revictualling the forts which held out in the Morea, and afterwards to carry reinforcements to Candia and Crete. The fleet accomplished its destined purpose, but the forces of Chourchid were completely defeated with the loss of their whole artillery, baggage, and stores, and above 4,000 men slain and wounded.

The beautiful and prosperous island of Chios, which has gained a melancholy immortality from the dismal scene of bloodshed to which it was subjected, had hitherto remained a stranger to the insurrection; but a Greek squadron, having appeared off the island in the end of March, the flame burst forth. The Turks shut themselves up in the citadel, and the Greeks having taken possession of the heights which commanded it, a distant cannonade was kept up for ten days without any material effect on either side. Meanwhile an army of thirty thousand fanatical Asiatics, was collected on the opposite coast, which was landed almost without resistance, upon the devoted island. The city was immediately occupied by the Turks, who commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians, which lasted without intermission for the four following days. One of the finest cities in the Levant was reduced to ashes; nine thousand men were put to the sword; the women and children were sold as slaves; the very graves were rifled in search of

treasures; and the bones of the dead were tossed about among the corpses of the recently slain. No further victims were left in the city, and the infuriated soldiery, increased by large bodies of Asiatics who had been lured from the shore by the light of the burning town, rushed in tumultuous bodies into the country, and commenced the work of destruction in the rural villages. Every corner of the island was ransacked; every human being that could be found, was slain or carried into captivity. Nothing was to be seen in the once smiling land but heaps of ruins, and a few ghastly inhabitants, wandering in a state of starvation among them. Ninety churches and forty villages were delivered to the flames; twenty-five thousand persons, chiefly full grown men, had been slain; forty-five thousand women and children had been dragged into slavery; and fifteen thousand had escaped into the neighbouring islands in the last stage of destitution and misery, where the greater part of them died of grief or starvation. For several months, the markets of Constantinople, Egypt, and Barbary, were so stocked with slaves, that their price fell a half; and purchasers were attracted from the farthest parts of Asia and Africa, whither the Greek captives were scattered.

The heroic citizens of Hydra resolved to strike a decisive blow at the Turkish fleet, which had been mainly instrumental in conveying to Chios the savage crowd which had desolated the island. The cause of Christendom was to be defended by the torch, and the *Greek fire* again became more formidable to its enemies than its swords. The united fleets of Hydra and Spezzia assembled at Pasarra on the 5th May. They amounted to fifty-six sail, the largest carrying twenty guns, among which were eight fire-ships. The Turkish fleet lay at anchor in a bay on the coast of Asia; and on the evening of the 31st an attack was resolved upon by the Greek chiefs. The first attack was not successful; but having received intelligence that the Ottoman squadron had been reinforced to thirty-eight sail, and that it was soon to unite with one of nearly equal strength from Egypt, it was resolved, during a dark night, to send in two fire-ships at the northern end of the straits between Chios and the Asiatic coast, where the Turkish fleet lay, while at

each end two vessels cruised about to pick up such of their crews as might survive their perilous mission. Constantine-Canaris, of Pissarra, and George Pessinis, with thirty-two intrepid followers, volunteered their services. At midnight a breeze from the north having sprung up, the fire-ships were run in at once among the fleet. The fire-ship of Canaris grappled the prow of the Turkish admiral's ship, anchored at the head of the line, and instantly set her on fire. The Hydriote fire-ship was, with equal success, fastened to the other three-decker. The thirty-four heroes were then picked up by their comrades, sailed straight through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and got clear off without a wound. The fate of the two vessels was different. Canaris had fixed his grappling irons to the prow so firmly, that all efforts to detach them were vain, and in a few minutes the Admiral's three-decker was a sheet of flame. The fire-ship got detached from the other vessel, but not until she was rendered unfit for service; and the fire-ship, floating through the fleet in a state of conflagration, excited universal consternation, and did great damage to several vessels. The scene which ensued on board the Admiral's vessel baffles all description. Two thousand three hundred persons on board had no means of escaping the flames but by plunging into the waves. None would approach the burning vessel for fear of being involved in the conflagration. Every ship in the fleet, many of which were on fire, was distinctly seen by the prodigious light of the burning three-decker, the flames of which rose like a pillar of fire into the heavens. At length she blew up with an explosion so tremendous, that every house for miles around was shaken to its foundation, every ship in the strait rocked as in a tempest; and the awful silence which immediately ensued, was broken by the clatter of spars, masts and fragments which fell upon the fleet. The Turks in Chios, overwhelmed with terror, threw themselves on their faces on the ground, imploring the mercy of the Almighty. The entire command of the Archipelago was thus abandoned to the Greeks. But the last wave of the desolating surge had yet to pass over Chios. The Turks renewed the massacre of the few Greeks who yet remained on the island; and in the begin-

ning of August there were not eighteen hundred of the original inhabitants left, and these were almost all old women who had been concealed in caves, out of eighty-five thousand who peopled it before.

Success seemed to alternate between the Turks and the insurgents in various parts of Greece. At last Chourchid Pasha broke up from Janina on the 17th June, and having effected a junction with the Pasha of Salonica and Thessaly, their united forces, thirty thousand strong, passed the defile of Thermopylæ, without resistance, and appeared before Corinth, the citadel of which was delivered to them by the treachery of a Greek priest. The Ottoman army marched in triumph to Napoli di Romania. But this was the limit of their success. Then appeared the vital importance of the destruction of the fleet at Chios to Greek independence. They found in Napoli nothing but a starving garrison. The surrounding plains could afford no support for their numerous cavalry. In a few days the want of provisions became so great that no resource remained but the dead bodies of the horses. Meanwhile, the Greeks, assembling from the plains, the mountains, and the islands, surrounded the Turks with twelve thousand men, who rendered all attempt at foraging or levying supplies impossible. The Turkish general proposed to enter into a capitulation for the evacuation of the Morea. The Greek chiefs declined, upon which the Turks resolved to cut their way through the enemy. The Turkish columns, entangled in rugged, narrow and broken passes, were entirely cut up; and altogether, when the Ottoman army left the Peloponnesus, there were not more than two thousand left to reinforce the garrison of Napoli di Romania, and seven thousand around Corinth, the poor remains of thirty thousand, of whom two thirds were cavalry, who had entered the country six weeks before. Chourchid Pasha died of grief, just in time to avoid the bow-string of the Sultan, which had been sent to despatch him. The Acropolis of Athens surrendered by capitulation, which the Greeks basely violated, and massacred the greater part of the garrison. This outrage materially weakened the interest which Europe now felt in their cause.

The insurrection was daily assuming more formidable

proportions in Cyprus and Candia. The towns and villages had disappeared, or existed only in ruins, the crops were destroyed, and the vine and olive trees were rooted up. The monks were in an especial manner the objects of the vindictive cruelty of the Turks: they stabled their horses in the churches, and actually bridled and saddled some of these unfortunate ecclesiastics, and forcing them to go on all fours, rode on them in derision, till they dropped down dead of fatigue. In Crete the Turks were in greater strength than in any other island, but the mountains and plains remained in the hands of the insurgents.

The most important conquest which the Greeks had yet achieved was the fall of Napoli di Romania, which was carried by escalade on the night of the 12th December. Here for the first time, a capitulation was well observed. The Ottoman garrison, consisting of twelve hundred men, were, by the assistance of the English frigate *Cambrian*, conveyed to the Asiatic coast. The Greeks found immense military resources in this fortress. Four hundred pieces of bronze cannon, and large stores of ammunition, fell into their hands.

Far from being intimidated by the bad success of their former expeditions, the Divan fitted out a vast armament of ninety sail, including four line of battle ships, which set sail for Napoli di Romania, with ample stores to victual all the fortresses in the Morea. The Greek squadron, consisting of sixty sail, the largest of which carried only twenty guns, watched this formidable force at a distance; and the Turkish admiral was so much intimidated that he did not venture to enter the gulf of Napoli. But an opportunity, fatal to the Turks, soon occurred, in which Canaris displayed all the energy and daring of his character. The Turkish fleet was lying at anchor in the bay of Tenedos, waiting orders from Constantinople. Two fire-ships, one of which was commanded by Canaris, and the other by a Hydriot hero, and manned by seventeen of the seamen who had burned the Admiral's vessel at Chios, were admitted within the Turkish line, under the disguise of Turkish colours. The fire-ships were immediately fastened to two three-deckers, one of which was so strongly grappled that it caught the flames, and with sixteen hundred persons on board, blew up soon after with

a terrific explosion. The Turkish ships cut their cables and made for the Dardanelles; two frigates ran ashore and were wrecked in the flight, and the entire command of the sea was abandoned to the Greeks. It was now intimated by the captain of the Cambrian, that the British government, guided in its foreign policy by Mr. Canning, would recognise the Greek blockades.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1822. When the population of Greece, which did not exceed six hundred thousand souls, is taken into consideration, it seems remarkable how they could thus confront the whole weight of the Ottoman empire, and come off victorious in the strife. The superiority and daring of the Greek seamen, and the rugged and inaccessible nature of the country in which the operations of a regular army are difficult, if not impossible, gave them great advantages. But this is not alone sufficient to account for their success. The desperate nature of the conflict in which they were engaged; the devoted courage and indomitable firmness which was everywhere exhibited in a contest emphatically one of death or victory, enabled the small but heroic bands to triumph over their more numerous and scarcely less courageous enemies. It was impossible that any people, how brave and heroic soever, could long continue a contest which required such a drain of inhabitants. Although the war had continued only two years, two hundred thousand Greeks had perished by the sword or famine, or been sold into slavery.

The disasters which the Turks this year sustained did not proceed solely from the swords or the torches of the Greeks. Nature seemed to have conspired with man for the ruin of the empire of the Osmanlis. The cities of Aleppo and Antioch were thrown down by a violent earthquake, and twelve thousand persons were buried in their ruins. Another shock shortly succeeded which entirely destroyed the city of Aleppo, and drove all its citizens who escaped instant death into the adjoining country. About the same time the *Cholera Morbus*, since so well known in Western Europe, made its appearance in Bagdad. The Persians defeated the Turks in a pitched battle, and the victors advanced to Bassora. The Pasha of Acre deeming the dissolution of the

Turkish empire at hand, revolted against the Porte, and hoisted the standard of rebellion on his ramparts. Jassay was the scene of a terrible conflagration. The unruly Janizaries, during the night of the 10th August, set the city on fire, and immediately commenced a general massacre of the Christian inhabitants. Several thousand Christians fell victims to their capricious tyranny; and one hundred and sixty of the assassins, in a state of intoxication, perished in the flames which they themselves had raised. Of the city, which contained two thousand houses, only one hundred and fifty escaped destruction.

The Greek government made an earnest application to the Congress of Verona to be admitted into the European family, and taken under the protection of the Western powers. It met, however, with no success. The dread of encouraging the revolutionary principle was a reasonable pretext for refusing the demands of the Greeks, for it had met to combat that very principle in Spain and Italy. Humanity called for the interference of the different European powers to put an end to the bloodshed which desolated Greece. Such an interference would have been as reasonable now as at a subsequent stage in the struggle; but the Congress decided, and formally acknowledged, the right of the Sultan to exclude all foreign intervention between himself and his subjects, whether Christian or Mahometan. This seemed decisive; but Russia had her own separate grounds of discussion with Turkey. She demanded the performance of certain stipulations of the treaty of Bucharest, with reference to the internal government of the Christian provinces of Turkey in the north-east, to which the Divan in part conceded; and on the other hand, the Porte called upon the Emperor to surrender the fortresses on the Black sea, which, by the same treaty, he had engaged to deliver up, but which, for fourteen years, had been retained in violation of these engagements. It appeared evident that these disputes would form the ground of future quarrels.

Absolute as the Turkish Sultans are, they find themselves circumscribed and guided by public opinion, on important occasions, no less than the governments of Western Europe. Its oscillations, however, in the east, are more violent, and its

decisions more sudden and sanguinary. It was a constant subject of complaint with the Janizaries and the Asiatic troops that the new system of government would ruin everything, that the treatment of the insurgents was far too gentle, that the old system should be restored, and the infidels every where destroyed with fire and sword. The Sultan in vain endeavoured to appease the public clamour by the daily exhibition of a number of Christian heads, or the heads of Pashas supposed to favour his schemes of reform, at the Seraglio gate. The Sultan, at last satisfied that the public voice could no longer be disregarded, resolved upon a concession. The Mufti and the Grand Vizier were deposed, and Halet Effendi exiled. New ministers were chosen by the Janizaries, who extorted an order from the Sultan for the execution of Halet Effendi, who was strangled and his head exposed at the Seraglio gate, with an inscription charging him with every imaginable crime. The leaders of the Janizary party for a time got the entire command of the government.

A frightful catastrophe occurred at Constantinople in the spring of 1823, which added to the sinister presentiments with which men's minds were filled. A dreadful fire broke out in the vicinity of Tophani, the imperial cannon foundry, which spread with incredible rapidity. A violent wind, which frequently changed its direction, spread the flames on all sides. The loss was immense: upwards of 8,000 houses were consumed, 1,200 pieces of cannon, immense trains of artillery waggons, and several entire barracks, were the prey of the flames; above 1,000 persons perished, and 40,000 were thrown houseless and starving upon the streets. The Mussulmans, struck with consternation at the magnitude of the disaster, exclaimed, "God is with the infidels!" Others, imbued with the fanaticism of the period, maintained that the only way to propitiate the Almighty was to massacre the Christians. But there were others of more humane sentiments; and many voices, especially of women, were heard amid the flames to exclaim, "God has avenged the innocent blood shed at Chios."

The Sultan commenced the campaign of 1823 with the most vigorous measures. New levies were called for the

army: the navy was put into an efficient state of repair: the ponderous ships of the line, unfitted for navigating the shoals, straits, and deeply indented bays of the Archipelago, were disbanded, and by the end of April, a powerful squadron of frigates and smaller vessels was ready for sea.

The bond of Greek insurrection was, at this period, more nearly dissolved by internal discord than by the arms of the Turks. The great national object of the revolution seemed to be forgotten. The military leaders desired to be independent, and each, like guerilla chiefs, to carry on the war on his own account; and innumerable jealousies existed among the persons intrusted with the administration of affairs. The deputies of the National Assembly could not submit to meet in a room, and they held their deliberations in a garden. But the spirit of patriotism did not animate the members. Angry messages, mingled with threats, were conveyed from one to the other. Even the leaders, Mavrocordato and Ipsilanti, were not on speaking terms. Only a small number could be secured for the executive council; and such as it was, its authority was only established in the islands. On the mainland, the election of representatives was found to be impracticable, and the authority of the chiefs was alone obeyed within their respective bounds. It was, however, agreed to limit the authority of the military commanders, and it was decreed that they were to hold their power only within the duration of their respective expeditions.

The plan for the next campaign, arranged by the Divan, was on a very magnificent scale; but the execution was far from equalling the design. The Greeks were to be attacked on all sides with an overwhelming force, while a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail was to sweep the *Ægean* sea, and reduce the revolted islands to subjection. Two circumstances, however, were overlooked of vital importance to the issue of the campaign; the danger of famine in a country desolated by civil war, and the exhaustion of the Mussulman population, from whom alone the soldiers were drawn. In consequence of the operation of these two circumstances, the Greeks were saved from destruction, at a time when their own divisions brought them to the very verge of ruin.

To oppose the Turks the Greek government decreed the formation of an army of 50,000 men; and their fleet consisted of 98 vessels of war, bearing 1,760 guns, and manned by 10,560 admirable seamen.

The first events of the campaign in Epirus, Euboea, Thessaly, and the Morea, were eminently in favour of the Greeks. The Turks were repulsed in every encounter. Attica was entirely evacuated, and the important stronghold of Acro-Corinthus capitulated, after having exhausted all its means of subsistence.

The unhappy divisions which had arisen among the Greeks, now rose to such a pitch in the Morea, that the rival captains, instead of bearing their united strength against the enemy, took up arms against each other. Civil war aided in the desolation of a country afflicted by disasters, and threatened with many dangers. Blood was shed in the streets of Tripolitza between the adverse factions. The president resigned his office; and Colocotroni withdrew to Napoli di Romania, from whence he directed the whole military operations of Continental Greece. A more heroic spirit prevailed among the mountains of Albania. Owing to the overwhelming force of the Ottomans, it was evidently impossible to Bozzaris to effect anything by open force, and he resolved on a nocturnal attack, by which it was hoped the enemy, who kept a very bad look-out, might be surprised. Bozzaris selected a Souliote battalion, well known as one of the bravest in Greece, and after unfolding to them his designs, they resolved to accompany him, and expressed their determination to conquer or die. He selected from the battalion one hundred and fifty of the bravest and most active, whom he proposed to head in person, while the remainder of his troops were divided into three columns, to distract the enemy by assaults in different quarters. The column selected for attack, was the Turkish advanced guard, five thousand strong, which was encamped in the bottom of a valley, intersected by vineyards and ditches. Buried in sleep, without either sentinels or entrenchments, the Turks were suddenly surprised by the swords of the Souliotes which gleamed amongst them.

The voice of Bozzaris was heard above the tumult of con-

flict, exhorting his companions to conquer. Knowing his voice, the Mussulmans directed all their shots to the quarter whence it came, one of which wounded the chief below the girdle. The attack of another division completed the confusion of the Ottomans, and before daybreak they fled in all directions. Eight hundred men were slain on the spot; and a thousand prisoners, eighteen standards, seven guns, and immense military stores, were taken by the Souliotes, who did not lose one hundred and fifty men. But they sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Bozzaris, who was shot through the head as the day began to dawn. Before he breathed his last he had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy fly, and he died exhorting his countrymen to shed every drop of their blood in defence of their religion and their country. "In this glorious battle," said a decree published by the government, "died the immortal General Bozzaris, and went to the regions of eternity, to darken by the rays of his exploits, the lustre of former heroes."

The Pasha of Scodra, having recovered from the defeat which he received from Bozzaris at Carpenitza, forced the defiles of the mountains, and effected the junction of his army with that of Omer-Vrione. The united forces, twenty thousand strong, sat down before Missolonghi. Its garrison consisted only of three thousand regular troops, and about double that number of armed inhabitants. The besieging force was also supported by three large frigates and twelve brigs, which blockaded the town by sea. The defenders were inspired with the most sanguine hopes of success, and their efforts were heroic and successful. The Pasha, after the loss of half his army, raised the siege, after cutting down six thousand olive trees, destroying his ammunition, burying his cannon, and he left all his provisions to the enemy.

Military operations were suspended in Candia during the whole winter of 1822, in consequence of the violence of the plague, which in the garrison of Canea alone carried off five thousand of the population. The Greeks having received an additional supply of arms and ammunition, Tombazi, who was invested with the command, compelled the governor of Kipamos to capitulate; and with this success, the insurrection spread into the mountains around Khadeno, which

had hitherto remained quiet. The Turks were completely overpowered; but five thousand Egyptian troops sent by the Pasha of Egypt changed the fortunes of the day. Great cruelties were committed by both parties: the Greeks massacred their prisoners, while the Turks inhumanly smoked to death six hundred women and children who had taken refuge in the vast natural grotto of Stonarambella. The Greeks, as was fatally proved in the sequel, although capable of withstanding the tumultuary levies of the Turks, could not resist in the open field the disciplined battalions of Egypt.

The domestic dissensions of the Greeks, which had paralysed their operations, during the year, were carried to such a length, that the different members of the government were at war with each other. The collection of the revenue entirely ceased; the public treasury was empty; the chiefs levied contributions on their own account, with which they maintained their troops; and Greece, while struggling for existence with a powerful enemy, was exposed to the horrors of a civil war.

Meanwhile a general interest and sympathy in behalf of the Greeks, appeared in numerous public meetings in England, France and Germany, presided over by persons of high rank and consideration, and subscriptions to a considerable amount were raised to aid them in the cause of independence. At this time also, several individuals went to Greece, to render their services in its behalf, eminent alike by their rank, their courage, and their genius. Among these were M. Blaquiere and Colonel Leicester Stanhope. Lord Byron, who arrived in Argostoli, in the bay of Cephalonia, on the 3d August, generously gave to the cause a fortune, and the lustre of an immortal name.

The divisions among the leaders threatened an entire dissolution of society. The legislative body transferred the seat of government to Napoli di Romania in order to dissolve the military faction. They succeeded in their efforts, and on the 14th July, a general amnesty was proclaimed, which at length put an end to the disastrous dissensions. The English cruisers, in obedience to orders received from government, admitted the Greek blockade; by the exertions

of the Greek committee in London, a loan of £800,000 was obtained by the government, at the rate of £59 sterling paid for £100 stock; and although the government only obtained £280,000 for £800,000 debt contracted, the armaments by sea and land, but for this seasonable supply, must have been dissolved, from the want of funds for their support.

The Turkish empire, at this crisis, exhibited its wonted elasticity. The Sultan had learned to appreciate the value of the Egyptian troops, who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion; and the most tempting offers were held out to the Pasha to induce him to engage heartily in the contest. Ibrahim Pasha, who had already subdued Candia, was to transport a large force to the Morea, while his fleet was to blockade its harbours, and secure the subsistence of the troops, and the whole force of Continental Turkey was to march on western Greece and Missolonghi. In all, above one hundred thousand men were directed by sea and land against the infant state, twenty thousand of which were the disciplined battalions of Egypt. The first effort of Ibrahim was against the island of Casos, which he very soon subdued. The Turkish fleet, consisting of an eighty gun ship, two of sixty-four guns, six frigates, ten corvettes, and twenty brigs, with thirty transports having on board fourteen thousand regular troops, and a crowd of fierce Asiatics, attacked the island of Ipsara, which at this period contained only fifteen thousand inhabitants. This island, which had been the abode of liberty and independence, had obtained a very high degree of prosperity; but after a heroic resistance, the town was sacked and burnt, and the whole inhabitants put to the sword. The spoil made by the Turks was immense. Two hundred pieces of cannon, great stores of powder, and a beautiful flotilla of ninety vessels, fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Five hundred heads and eleven hundred ears were sent to Constantinople, which were displayed in ghastly rows at the gates of the Seraglio. Ten females only were made slaves; for the women, in a heroic spirit, drowned themselves with their infants to avoid becoming the spoil of the victors.

After an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Samos,

the Turkish fleet effected a junction with the Egyptian armament in the gulf of Boudroum, the ancient Halicarnassus, on the 25th August, and the fleets together amounted to one line-of-battle ship, 25 frigates, 25 corvettes, each mounting from 24 to 28 guns, 50 brigs and schooners, many of them carrying from 18 to 24 guns, and 240 transports. The land forces consisted of 12,000 regular infantry, drilled and organized after the European fashion, 2,000 Albanian light infantry, 2,000 cavalry, 700 gunners and sappers, and 150 pieces of heavy and field artillery. The armament had on board 80,000 sailors and soldiers, and above 2,500 cannon. To oppose this mighty force the Greek admiral had only 70 sail, manned by 5,000 sailors, and bearing, at the utmost, 800 guns.

The Greek admiral, Miaulis, notwithstanding this great disproportion of force, advanced to meet the enemy. Their fire-ships, as formerly, struck terror into the Ottomans. Great part of their fleet was burned or destroyed, and the Capitan Pasha ran into the Dardanelles. The two fleets were almost constantly engaged until the 13th November, when Miaulis engaged the Egyptian squadron in a general battle. Such was his success, that thirteen vessels and fifteen transports were burned or destroyed. Ibrahim steered for Rhodes, and took shelter in the bay of Marmorica for the winter. This naval campaign was the most disastrous which the Mahometans had yet sustained. Seven of their largest ships, and fifty sail of transports were taken or destroyed, an admiral and four thousand seamen slain, and five hundred Arabs were carried prisoners to Napoli. In short, this campaign, besides a great part of their fleet, cost the Turks, without gaining any corresponding advantage, fifteen thousand men.

The campaigns by land this year, although not unchequered by disaster, terminated to the advantage of the Greeks. But their country was gradually relapsing into a state of nature. The whole surface of Western Hellas, from the mountains of Agrapho to the gates of Missolonghi, was one vast scene of desolation, presenting to the eye only uncultivated fields and burnt hamlets. The mountains of Thessaly and Boëtia had become a perfect wilderness: the inhabi-

tants were reduced to half their number; the treasury was empty, the troops unpaid, and the taxes incapable of collection. The most determined might have felt appalled; the most sanguine could scarcely anticipate a successful resistance; yet not a voice was raised for capitulation, and the Greeks still bore aloft the standard of independence.

A census published by the government in 1824, exhibits a curious picture of the state of Greece. The population of Athens was 9,040 souls, and the gross revenue of Attica, collected in eight months, from July 1824 to February 1825, only £2,000! In the days of Pericles, Athens contained 21,000 freemen and 400,000 slaves; and the gross revenue of Athens, after the battle of Chæronea, when all its foreign colonies had been lost, was £220,000, equivalent to at least £500,000 a-year of our money. The population of Athens is now (1854,) 30,000, and it is annually and rapidly increasing. With these facts before us, and when we consider that the Mahometan population of European Turkey, scarcely equal to a third or perhaps a fourth of the Christians, is gradually decreasing, while the Christian population is on the increase, it does not appear to be going too far to predict, ere long, the entire ascendancy of the Christians in Turkey, without the aid either of external or internal violence.

The gloomy prospects which had hitherto surrounded the Greek cause, began, about the beginning of 1825, to be partially dispelled. The authority of the central government was established; a new loan had been contracted in London for £2,000,000, at the rate of £55 $\frac{1}{4}$, paid for £100 of debt acknowledged; several corps of regular soldiers were established; and altogether, the cause of independence received the impulse of a united and regular administration.

The Pasha of Egypt was now the most formidable enemy which the Greeks had to encounter; and the force which he was preparing to put at the disposal of his son was immense. Thirty thousand Arabs had been trained and disciplined under foreign officers, in the European manner. Three expeditions, each consisting of eight thousand men, were successively to sail from Alexandria, to convey this force to Candia and Rhodes; while the efforts of the Turks,

with twenty thousand men, were to be entirely confined to the siege of Missolonghi. These formidable preparations were supported by a powerful fleet to which, it was anticipated, the Greeks could make no serious resistance.

The Egyptian armament crossed the sea without opposition. The first division sailed from Alexandria on the 20th February, and by the 21st March twelve thousand Arabs were encamped around the fortress of Modon. Navarino, which is about two leagues distant from Modon, had been reconnoitred by Ibrahim, to which he resolved to lay siege. The Greeks, in order to intercept the enemy, collected twelve thousand men, and took post between Navarino and Modon. Then, for the first time, the superiority of the Egyptian arms and discipline became apparent. Ibrahim pierced the centre of the enemy with fixed bayonets, a weapon to which the Greeks had been hitherto strangers, while at the same time the horse, dashing up a ravine deemed inaccessible, completed the rout. Navarino was reduced, and the Egyptian forces were established in a solid way in the Morea. At the same time, Redschid Pasha appeared with all his forces before Missolonghi. Meanwhile many brilliant exploits were performed at sea by the Greeks, in which their fireships were fatal alike to the Turks and the Egyptians.

By the acquisition of Navarino, Ibrahim had secured an excellent base of operations, communicating readily by sea with his reserves in Suda and Alexandria. His next movements were to extend himself in the interior; and by the superior discipline of his troops, he soon gained the entire command of the Morea. The Greek chiefs never ventured again to meet the enemy in large bodies; but they occupied the mountains, and cut off several Arab detachments which were ravaging the plains, from which Ibrahim, after burning the houses, drove away the inhabitants as slaves without mercy. A market was opened at Modon for the sale of captives of both sexes, who were crowded in dungeons, loaded with irons, unmercifully beaten by their guards, and often murdered in pure wanton cruelty during the night.

While these operations were shaking the Greek power in the Morea, Redschid Pasha had commenced his operations

before Missolonghi. For some time after the arrival of the Turks, the operations on both sides consisted of petty skirmishes only; and indeed the greater part of the summer had been spent, without any impression having been made by the besiegers on the fortress. Having received a reinforcement of five thousand men and great stores of siege equipage, the Turkish commander prepared for a general assault. After a sanguinary conflict, the Turks forced their way into the city, but were finally repulsed; and the Greeks afterwards retaliated upon the besiegers by repeated and successful sorties. In a subsequent assault, the Pasha was equally unfortunate, and was at last compelled to abandon the camp. Peremptory orders, however, were despatched to Redschid to renew the siege; but though reinforced by a body of disciplined Egyptians, he failed in every attempt, and retired during the rains to the heights of Mount Aracynthus. Missolonghi was the principal stronghold of the Greeks; and the Sultan, irritated rather than intimidated by his succession of disasters, and regarding the fall of Missolonghi as an event with which the termination of the Greek war was wound up, was at the same time making the most formidable preparations for its subjugation. He determined on a combined attack on the place with the whole forces of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary. With this view the Capitan Pasha received orders to put to sea directly from Alexandria, with all the troops the Pasha of Egypt could collect, which were to be placed under the command of Ibrahim, who was to bring up all he could assemble from the Morea. Ten thousand infantry, eight hundred regulars, and twelve hundred irregulars, were embarked on board a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five vessels, of which, seventy-nine were of war, including nine frigates, and with these formidable forces he cast anchor in the bay of Navarino, on the 5th November. Meanwhile Ibrahim, with four thousand men, proceeded towards Missolonghi, and united his forces with those of Redschid in the middle of December. The garrison of Missolonghi consisted of 5,000 warriors; and its original population of 3,000 had been raised to 13,000, by the arrival of refugees, who confided in its natural and artificial strength. The Greeks, on their side, had received

reinforcements of 1,500 men, and large supplies of provisions and ammunition. In this position they anxiously expected the general assault with which they were threatened from the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt, now mustering 25,000 land troops besides the sea forces.

This siege, like that of Numantia and Saragossa, is memorable for the bravery and resolution of its defenders, the sufferings of the inhabitants, and the romantic courage with which a part of its garrison cut their way through the enemy's entrenchments. In the most desperate circumstances they never flinched for an instant,—not a thought of surrender had crossed the minds of the devoted garrison. As far as the eye could reach, the sea was covered with Mussulman pendants; and the daily increasing number of batteries and field-works in the plain, studded with the wrecks of the siege, gave fearful note of the preparations making against them. Yet, in these awful circumstances they refused an offer of capitulation even when transmitted to them by a naval British officer, whose vessel was at anchor in the bay.

Already the want of provisions and powder was severely felt by the garrison; and the Greek fleet, which was expected with supplies, had not made its appearance. At last the fleet of Miaulis approached; but the force of the Turks was such as to exclude all possibility of a direct attack, and before he could be reinforced, the fate of Missolonghi was decided. For a number of days no rations had been distributed; the firing had driven every kind of fish from the shore, and the people subsisted on cats, rats, raw hides, and seaweed, which they collected under the very fire of the enemy. Absolute famine stared the wretched inhabitants in the face; the earth was strewed with the wounded, the sick, the famishing, and the dying, for whom there was neither food, nor beds, nor medicines, nor assistance. Three days more, and not a living soul would remain within the walls from absolute famine. Yet even in these desperate circumstances they refused to capitulate; and if they were forced to abandon the place, it should be with arms in their hands.

In these circumstances a census was taken of the remaining inhabitants, and it was found that there were three

thousand men capable of bearing arms, a thousand unfit to wield them, and five thousand women and children. Despairing of all relief except in their own valour, they formed the desperate resolution of opening a passage through the ranks of the besieging army. This extraordinary and heroic attempt met with a success which could hardly have been anticipated. The women generally put on male attire, and carried pistols and daggers in their girdles, and weapons were given to such boys as had strength to use them. A Bulgarian deserter having revealed the design, Ibrahim made every disposition to frustrate it. Presently the unavoidable noise attending the movement of this mass of human beings, and the wailing of women and children, attracted Ibrahim's attention to the quarter where the sortie was to be made, and a violent fire of grape and musketry was opened upon it. But the onset was irresistible. Neither ditch nor breastwork, the fire of grape and musketry, nor the bayonets of the Arabs, could resist the desperate shock. A wide opening was made in the besiegers' lines, through which the helpless crowd in rear immediately began to pour in great numbers, and sanguine hopes were entertained that the passage was secured and the danger over. In this hope they were disappointed. In the enthusiasm of victory, the warriors, instead of dividing into two columns, as they had been ordered, pushed across the plain in one solid mass. The cavalry fell on the unarmed multitude in rear, and cut many to pieces. Great numbers rushed in wild despair back to the town, which they entered the same time as the besiegers. A general massacre immediately commenced; and such was the desperation with which the Greeks fought, that the loss of the Turks on that awful night was fully equal to their own. Ibrahim boasted that he had collected three thousand heads, and sold four thousand women and children; but great numbers of the latter were purchased and restored to their families, by the benevolence of the Christians which, by this memorable siege, was now strongly aroused over all Europe.

Such was the fall of Missolonghi. The general sympathy of Europe could not fail to be roused in favour of the devoted garrison; and indeed, it was this warm sympathy

which mainly contributed to the success of the Philhellenic Societies which had sprung up in every country of Europe, and ultimately rendered public opinion so strong as to lead to the treaty of London, the battle of Navarino, and ultimately the establishment of Greek independence. The consumpt of human life during the six campaigns, rendered it impossible that the Greeks could long continue the contest; and money was even more wanting than men. So strong was the feeling of despondency which prevailed, that the representatives of the nation signed a solemn act, placing the nation under the absolute protection of Great Britain. The memorial was well received by the British government, who resolved to take the initiative in the transaction and making the liberation of Greece the joint act of the maritime powers, and thus prevent it from falling under the exclusive protection of any one of their number.

The Emperor Nicholas, who had just mounted the throne of Russia, closed with the proposal of erecting Greece into a semi-independent state, but he declined admitting any mediation of the other powers in regard to his own differences with the Porte, which, he alleged, Russia was able to adjust for herself.

Never since the commencement of the revolution, had such a gloom hung over the nation as in the end of 1826. The government was in the most miserable state. The revenue which in 1825, had been £90,000, had sunk to £25,000. The treasury contained only five shillings. The sailors receiving no pay were in a state of mutiny; and it was only by some loans received from the Philhellenes in Western Europe, that the armaments were kept afloat. The enemy also felt the pressure of famine and the sword. Of 24,000 Arabs who had been shipped from Alexandria within two years, only eight thousand were alive. Partial successes, which determined nothing, alternately favoured both parties, and served only to increase their mutual exhaustion.

It was evident that the cause of the Greeks was now desperate. For seven years had they contended single-handed with the whole Ottoman empire. If they had suffered many reverses, it was not from their inability to con-

tend with the Turks, but from the overwhelming weight of the Egyptians, who interfered with decisive effect at the close of the struggle. But if the Turks had brought one powerful ally to their assistance, the Greeks engaged allies more powerful still. The result was the conclusion of the treaty of 6th July, 1827, between England, France, and Russia, which formed the corner-stone of Greek independence.

The object of the treaty was declared to be "the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks." An armistice was to be absolutely insisted on as a preliminary to the opening of any negociation. The terms proposed to the Sultan were, that he should still retain a nominal sovereignty over Greece, but receive from them a fixed annual tribute, to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the Sultan was to have a voice. All the Mussulman property in Greece was to be abandoned upon receiving an indemnity, and the fortresses were to be given up to the Greek troops. The Porte was requested to declare within a month, his acceptance of these terms.

When this treaty was intimated to the Sultan, he manifested the utmost astonishment and indignation at its contents, and declared his fixed determination to adhere to the last in his endeavours to reduce his rebellious subjects to submission. The Porte founded its rejection of the proposal of the allied governments, upon the right to suppress rebellion within his own dominions, and that no foreign government had any right to interfere between them. These general principles, the correctness of which cannot be disputed, did not suit the views of the allied powers. They had resolved to establish the independence of Greece; and how patriotic soever may have been the general sentiment of Europe, the true solution of the joint interference of England, France, and Russia, will be found in the ulterior designs of the latter, and the jealousy of the two former powers.

Whatever may have been the civil and social improvements arising to Greece, by the establishment of its independence, it is evident that a power of such limited extent can never exercise any visible influence over the destinies

of the East; and it has lately been shown, that Greece, instead of forming a barrier, how trifling soever, to Russia, is the only state which the Emperor of Russia has been able to employ, to aid him, as far as it could, in his designs against the independence of the Ottoman empire.

The allied powers had determined that the treaty of the 6th July was not to remain a dead letter. A British squadron of four ships of the line, under Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, was already in the Levant, and also a French squadron of equal strength, under Admiral De Rigny. The Czar had despatched eight ships of the line, but four only, which was deemed his proportion, proceeded to the *Ægean* sea.

The ambassadors of the allied powers, on the 16th August 1827, presented a final note to the Turkish government. The Porte was immovable. The ambassadors then presented an additional note, informing the Porte, that in consequence of its refusal, their sovereigns would take the necessary steps to carry the treaty into execution.

Meanwhile Ibrahim was not slow in prosecuting the war of extermination in the Morea, which he had received orders from the Porte to undertake. His footsteps were marked by desolation. He issued orders to put every one to death in the villages where resistance was attempted; and in several this was actually done. The whole olive and fruit trees, the growth of centuries, and sole resource, in many places, of the inhabitants, were cut down or burnt. The women and children were all carried off to be sold as slaves, the men slain, the houses burnt, and continual clouds of smoke around the gulf of Coron, bore testimony to the devastation that was going forward.

Informed of this devastation, and seeing Ibrahim's determination to set the proposed armistice at defiance, the allied admirals held a consultation off Navarino, when they resolved to unite the squadrons in Navarino itself, and to call on Ibrahim to desist from hostilities, under pain of being attacked in case of refusal. This resolution was agreed upon on the 18th October, and they proceeded immediately to carry it into execution. This led to the battle of Navarino. The forces of the allies consisted of ten ships of the line, ten

frigates and a brig, and a few smaller vessels, in all twenty-six sail, carrying 1,324 guns. The Ottoman forces consisted of seventy-nine vessels, of which four were of the line, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, besides lesser vessels, armed with 2,240 guns. Independent of the batteries on shore they had thus nine hundred guns more than the Christians. The advantages which the allies had in large ships was neutralised by the position of the enemy, who had drawn up their fleet in the bay of Navarino, close to the shore, in a vast semicircle, under the guns of the batteries, having their broadsides turned towards the centre of the bay, and so near each other, as to resemble rather a huge floating battery than a fleet of detached vessels.

The combined fleet entered the bay on the afternoon of the 10th October. Sir Edward Codrington, in the *Asia*, eighty-four guns, led the van, and the six leading ships passed the batteries at the entrance of the bay, within pistol-shot without opposition. The *Asia* passed close to the ship of Moharem Bey, and with silent and awful grandeur clewed up her top-sails, rounded to, and let go her small bower-anchor, on the larboard of the Capitan Pasha's ship of equal size. Strict orders had been given not to fire; and although all the ships on both sides were cleared for action, and every preparation made, not a shot was discharged, until the Dartmouth sent a boat to one of the fire-ships, which was fired upon. This induced a defensive fire from the Dartmouth, which became extremely warm. At the same time, an officer bearing a flag of truce sent by Sir Edward Codrington to the Turkish admiral's ship, was slain; and a cannon shot was fired at Admiral de Rigny's ship, which brought on a return from the *Asia* and *Sirene*; and immediately the fire became general along the whole line. The battle lasted four hours, at the close of which the whole Ottoman ships were burnt, sunk, or destroyed, with the exception of twenty-eight of the smallest, which were cast ashore or spared by the conquerors. Fifty-one vessels, including the four line of battle ships, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, were destroyed, with seven thousand of their crews.

This victory, one of the most complete on record, was calamitous beyond measure to the vanquished; but it was

by no means bloodless to the conquerors. The British and French sustained a loss of 118 killed and 314 wounded; but the heaviest share fell to the British. The Russian loss was not known, a clear sign that it was not great.

As soon as the battle had ceased, the correspondence with the admirals was renewed, and it was agreed that there should be no further hostilities. The visions of Grecian conquest were at an end with Ibrahim, and he wisely prepared to take his departure. Such of his ships as had escaped destruction were repaired, and in December he took the first step towards the evacuation of the country by despatching his harem and five thousand sick and wounded soldiers. The firm attitude of the Divan, however, was not in the least shaken by the news of the misfortune; and the allies having pressed for an answer to their note, received the following. "My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer is, that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition regarding the Greeks, and will persist in his own will regarding them, even to the day of the last judgment."

Accommodation was now obviously hopeless; and the ambassadors left Constantinople on December 8th, and soon after Count Capo d'Istria, who had been elected President of Greece, took possession of his new dominions, and issued a proclamation declaring the Ottoman yoke for ever broken, and the independence of Greece established.

The contests in Greece became a matter of such secondary importance after its independence was secured by the convention of July 1827, and the battle of Navarino, that a few words will suffice to give a summary of its progress.

When the Russians and Turks were dealing out weighty blows to each other, on the banks of the Danube, and Turkey threatened with a formidable and perhaps fatal invasion from the north, with her navy ruined, and Egypt cut off from sending its formidable succours, the Ottomans were in no condition to resume offensive operations in Greece. But as Ibrahim Pasha received positive orders from the Sultan to hold out till the last extremity, an army of fifteen thousand men, under the command of Marshal Maison, was sent from France and landed on the Morea on the 25th

August 1828. Ibrahim being in no condition to resist, a convention was concluded on the 7th September in virtue of which the whole Egyptian troops were embarked and conveyed to Alexandria in English and French vessels. Before the end of autumn, the whole of the Morea was cleared of the Ottomans. The appointment of Capo d'Istria to the presidency had the effect of stilling the internal discord, which had long paralyzed the strength of Greece. It was known that he was supported by the influence of Russia, and therefore resistance was hopeless. Many important strongholds were wrested from the Turks. Candia was recovered; Salona, with its garrison of 800 men, capitulated; Lepanto and Anapolicon followed the example; and at length the standard of the cross waved on the blood-stained ramparts of Missolonghi. The families which had withdrawn from the Morea to the shelter of the islands returned in such numbers that the voices of a happy population were again heard in the land.

The limits of Greece were fixed by a protocol signed by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, England and France, at London on March 22d, 1829, to which Russia and Turkey gave their adhesion by article 10, of the treaty of Adrianople. By this treaty, Greece was to include the whole mainland of Turkey to the south of a line from Arta in the Adriatic, to Volo in the Archipelago. It was to embrace, also, the whole islands in the Ægean sea, known under the name of the Cyclades, with Eubœa or Negropont, but neither Candia nor Cyprus. Greece was to remain tributary to Turkey and to pay an annual sum of £100,000; but it was to be governed entirely by its own inhabitants and laws; and the infant nation was placed under the guarantee of England, France, and Russia. The state was to be monarchical, but no sovereign was to be placed on the throne belonging to the reigning families of any of the powers which signed the treaty of July 6th, 1827; a complete amnesty was to be claimed by the Porte, in favour of all persons without exception, who had been concerned in the Greek revolution; and a year was to be accorded reciprocally to the Greeks to sell their property in Turkey, and the Turks to dispose of their property in Greece. The limits thus assigned to Greece,

were subsequently contracted, and the line drawn on the Continent, not from Volo to Arta, but from Arta to Cape Armyro, in the gulf of Volo, in consideration of which the tribute was remitted and the sovereignty of the Porte entirely excluded.

The establishment of the independence of Greece became a political necessity; and many difficulties in the way of an amicable settlement of the question, presented themselves, in consequence of the jealousies of the powers which signed the treaty of the sixth July. The independence of Greece appears to have weakened the Ottoman barrier against Russian aggression; but whether a more extended limit, or even the erection of a Byzantian empire, under the rule of a Christian government—if such could have been possible—would have presented a more formidable barrier against Russia than Turkey, is a point about which there may be many opinions. The political results which may arise out of the contest now going forward in the east may serve to throw such light on this important question, as will open up the way to a general amelioration of the population of Turkey, and give additional security for the future safety of the Ottoman empire. The conduct of Capo d'Istria had given grounds of hope, that his government would be agreeable to the people, but his appointment was scarcely known over the Morea than his real character began to appear. His first act was to abolish the popular form of government, to drive out the Constitutionals from all places of trust, and to supply them with creatures of his own. In a short time, Greece was subjected to a most despotic government.

It became necessary now to find a sovereign for Greece. Several conditions tended to limit the candidates for this honour. The first was, that the person elected must have the rank of a prince. This set Capo d'Istria aside. After several parties had been mentioned, the conference agreed at last, upon Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg. This Prince subsequently rejected the appointment, and several other princes were named as candidates. The election of the three powers at last fell upon Prince Otho, son of the king of Bavaria, who since 1835 has occupied the throne of Greece. Greece is again (1854) occupied by the troops

of France and England, for the purpose of suppressing an insurrection, fomented by the agency of Russia, with the concurrence of the government of Greece, among the Christian subjects of the Porte, in opposition to the very powers who were instrumental in placing his majesty King Otho upon the throne.

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NEGOCIATIONS WITH RUSSIA—DESTRUCTION OF THE
JANIZARIES.

When the Emperor Nicholas agreed to join the allied powers in erecting Greece into an independent state, he reserved, as has already been mentioned, his right to settle his own differences with the Porte, without the mediation of the other powers. It might not have been difficult to see the meaning of this reservation. The interminable negotiations between the Russian and Turkish governments, during the year 1826, regarding the clauses in the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, in favour of the Christian subjects of the Porte, reached an extraordinary and unlooked for issue. Contrary to what might have been expected, but, under the circumstances, what the Porte only could do, the Divan gave in an entire and unqualified adherence to the demands of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

The Ottoman empire was not in a condition to resist the march of a hundred thousand Muscovites upon her northern frontier, at the time that her whole disposable force was engaged in a tedious and doubtful war with Greece; while at the same time the government was about to carry into effect a change of policy, which had been long contemplated in Turkey, and which, for the present, would greatly weaken the disposable military force of the empire.

The Janizaries had for ages been the terror of the government, and more than once they had prescribed their own terms to the Sultan, and even embroiled their hands in his blood. The whole history of the Janizaries, which at times were the strength and at others the weakness of the empire, shows that their existence was incompatible with the independence of the Sultan and his government, and even with

the safety of the state. The Sultan, therefore, resolved upon their destruction. The measures were now so far advanced, that though the Janizaries saw their danger, they did not feel themselves in sufficient strength openly to take steps against the preparations made to effect their overthrow. Fourteen thousand topjees or artillerymen had been distributed in the barracks in and around Constantinople; and as they were the avowed rivals of the Janizaries, the utmost pains had been taken to secure their fidelity. By the wise policy of Sultan Mahmoud the Muftis and the Ulemas, so often the disturbers of public reforms, had been enlisted in the cause. The plans of the government were so cautiously and wisely conceived that they scarcely excited the jealousy of the body they were intended to destroy. No resistance was at first experienced: the decree was read in the mosques without opposition; Egyptian officers began to drill the selected men; clothing was served out; and as no new impost was levied, the people acquiesced without opposition in the new order of things.

This state of acquiescence, unfortunately for the Janizaries themselves, did not long continue. The furnishing of one hundred and fifty men from the selected ortas or regiments went on without difficulty in the capital and neighbouring towns; but when the recruits began to be drilled and marched in the European fashion the discontents at once broke out. On the evening of the 14th June, the ill-humour of the Janizaries assumed the form of open mutiny; and the new regulations were stigmatised as a violation of the law of the Prophet. The men were worked up to such a pitch that they burst in a tumultuous manner from their barracks, assailed the palaces of the Grand Vizier, the Capitan Pasha, their own Aga, and the Pasha of Egypt's diplomatic agent, which they plundered without reserve. This merely partial exhibition of the spirit and designs of the Janizaries is sufficient to show, in a favourable point of view, the judicious measures adopted by the Sultan previous to his venturing upon the experiment of destroying their ascendancy. The Muftis, Ulemas, and several of the chiefs of the Janizaries themselves, had given their consent to the change; so that when the mutinous spirit of the body had

fairly broken out, they were destitute of leaders, of prudence, and of foresight, and instead of improving their victory, they thought of enjoying its fruits. Accordingly, after the pillage of the palaces, they dispersed among the wine vaults in the neighbourhood, and gave themselves up to the most revolting excesses.

The energy and foresight of the Sultan and his ministers were conspicuous on this occasion. The Grand Seignior hastened to Constantinople and put himself at the head of the topjees or artillerymen, and faithful troops of every description, which were directed from all quarters upon the capital. The Sultan found himself at the head of a large park of artillery which was brought from the arsenal of Tophana, the gunners of which were entirely at his devotion, together with the chief civil functionaries and principal military authorities of the empire. The regular force assembled soon amounted to ten thousand men, together with a prodigious crowd of Mussulmans of all ages and descriptions. The rebels were forthwith summoned to lay down their arms. They sternly refused, and demanded the heads of the Grand Vizier, of their own Aga, of Hassein Pasha, and of Redschid Effendi. These demands the Sultan refused, and Hassein Pasha was ordered to march against the rebels. They, on their side, prepared for the most vigorous resistance. The cheering of the ferocious bands was incessant; and the overturning of their camp-kettles, the well-known signal of revolt, told that they were determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The combat was brief but terrible. The Janizaries were obliged to retire to their barracks, where they had prepared the means of resistance. But an awful catastrophe awaited them. The imperial commanders, without attempting to force the gates, threw an incessant storm of shells into the building, which was soon set on fire; and an overwhelming fire of grape upon the gates prevented all egress from the building. In these frightful circumstances the rebels offered to submit, but it was too late. Their petition was refused, and the shells continued to fall and the grape to be discharged, till the barracks were totally consumed. The insurgents, four thousand in number, perished in the flames. The victory of the Sultan was

complete; but he was determined not to stop in the war of extermination. A thousand of those who were identified as belonging to the body, were put to death daily for several weeks. Before the slaughter ceased, forty thousand, in every part of the empire, had been put to death, and an equal number driven into exile. In short, the Janizaries were destroyed: the Sultan, with his whole court, assumed the Egyptian military dress; the old costumes were forbidden; and on the 3d September the pacification was deemed complete.

This sanguinary revolution, destined to produce the most lasting effects upon the Ottoman empire, could not at first be expected to realise the sanguine anticipations of Sultan Mahmoud. The Janizaries were too deeply interwoven with its ancient and venerated institutions to be at once overthrown with impunity. A dreadful fire, the work of incendiaries, broke out in Constantinople in August, which, in a few hours, consumed six thousand houses, and involved altogether a loss of £5,800,000. Instead of 250,000 recruits, upon which the Sultan had calculated, not fifteen thousand had rallied round the standard of the Prophet. The most severe denunciations were pronounced and carried into execution against those who used expressions tending to disturb the public peace. The Sultan was equally vigorous in the prosecution of civil reforms, and many important regulations were made in the internal economy of the state. The Divan, however, gave strong proof that they did not intend to abate the distinctions between races and religions. The reforms which the Sultan had accomplished, were nearly all hostile to the inveterate usage of the empire, and they were perhaps as extensive as could be safely accomplished at once; for no regulations made for the direction of a people can ever be successful, if too suddenly and strongly urged against the feelings and habits of a nation.

The first effect of the destruction of the Janizaries, and the consequent abolition of the available military force of the empire, appeared in the attitude which Russia assumed towards Turkey at the negotiations which began at Ackerman, a town in Bessarabia, on the 1st August 1826. On

the 8th of October, the last day allowed, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers signed the *Convention of Ackerman*, which has since occupied a prominent place in the diplomacy of the East. This convention, which in a great measure was extorted from Turkey, is a solemn recognition of the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, and it does not, at first sight, appear to be very detrimental to the independence of that empire. But upon more minute examination, its tendency appears to be to sap the foundations of the Ottoman state. It confers a right on the part of Russia of *interference* in behalf of the members of the Greek church, in certain parts of the Turkish empire, or in short, a *right of protectorate* on the part of Russia, totally inconsistent with the independence of Turkey. Such a right of protection as that assumed by Russia over the Christian subjects of a great part of the Ottoman empire, the impunity which it stipulated for the rebels of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the immunities provided for Servia, are nothing short of a transference of the real power from Constantinople to St. Petersburg, and exhibit another among the many instances of the crafty diplomacy of Russia, and the stealthy means which that nation employs to accomplish its ambitious designs.

Meanwhile, the Sultan continued his reforms; but he found that the task was difficult. By the end of the year, he had not more than 20,000 men instructed in the new exercises, and he therefore began to feel the straits to which his empire was reduced.

During this interval, the Russians had undertaken a new war against Persia, in which they were eminently successful. The Persians agreed to every thing the conquerors demanded, and Russia was put in possession of the fortress of Erivan and the province in which it is situated.

Hardly was this war finished, when Russia set about preparing for another. A ukase ordered a levy of two males in every five hundred over the whole extent of the empire; and for the first time, the Jews were subjected to the military conscription. The departure of the Emperor's aide-de-camp, Count Capo d'Istria, with great pomp, to take possession of the presidency of Greece, indicated in what

direction the views of the cabinet of St. Petersburg were directed. The conduct of the Count, in attempting to establish a purely despotic government in Greece, betrays the school in which he had been taught, and may not unjustly be considered to indicate ulterior designs on the part of Russia on the newly erected state.

Persia, foreseeing a rupture between Russia and Turkey, resolved upon recommencing hostilities, and accordingly the preliminaries agreed to were not ratified. But the step was premature. Russia immediately resumed hostilities; and the court of Teheran, finding that Russia was still too strong for their forces, determined to yield to necessity. The treaty was signed at Tourkmantchai, on terms much more rigorous than the preliminaries. It stipulated the payment of £3,000,000 towards the expenses of the war, and the cession of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, with a military frontier which commands the entire north of Persia.

This outbreak in Asia hardly interrupted the approaching hostilities in Europe. The two powers mutually accused each other of having given occasion for the war. The Porte accused the Russians of having secretly fomented the insurrection in Greece, and of openly attacking and destroying their fleet at Navarino; with having violated the treaties of Bucharest and Ackerman, and establishing connections with the malcontents in every part of the empire. The Turkish government has publicly asserted that Russia agreed "to renounce all interference in the affairs of Greece," *after* she had signed the treaty of London, which treaty bound her to interfere even by force of arms if necessary! On the other hand, the Russian government replied by accusing the Porte of having excited the mountaineers of Caucasus to revolt, and inviting them to embrace Islamism; with having violated or delayed the execution of all the treaties in favour of the Christians, and arbitrarily closing the Bosphorus on various occasions, and deeply injured thereby the southern provinces of the empire.

It is evident that both parties had grounds of complaint; but it is as evident that Russia was the aggressive party, and that the measures of the Porte can scarcely be considered even retaliatory. But reason and justice were alike

out of the question : Russia, at all hazards, had resolved on war.

WAR WITH RUSSIA IN 1828-29.

During the spring of 1828 every preparation had been made by Russia to augment the military force of the empire, and to communicate a warlike spirit to the inhabitants. In a country of such vast extent, where the troops have to march a thousand and fifteen hundred miles before they reach the theatre of war, a considerable time must elapse before any considerable concentration can take place. It was therefore not till the month of May that hostilities actually commenced. General Diebitch was appointed adjutant-general of the army on the Danube, which, by the beginning of April, mustered 108,000 men. This force was augmented in the end of August to 158,800.

The Divan, on their part, made surprising efforts to maintain the independence of the empire. In the beginning of May, they had got together in Europe fifty thousand regular infantry, several squadrons of regular cavalry, fifteen thousand spahis or feudal horsemen, and twenty thousand gunners, who had already been brought to a surprising degree of efficiency and skill. The warlike spirit of the Mussulmans was fairly roused; war was proclaimed against Russia with the utmost solemnity in the mosques, and all Mussulmans called to take up arms in defence of their holy religion and national independence. The Sandjak-sheriff, said to be composed of part of the dress actually worn by the Prophet, was solemnly brought forth, and the horse-tails, the well-known symbol of war to the death, were displayed on the gates of the Seraglio.

On the 7th May, the Russian army crossed the Pruth. The Turks retired as the Russians advanced. In a few weeks the level country was overrun; Jassay and Bucharrest occupied; Galatz with its valuable harbour taken; their advanced guard observed Brahamlow and Widdin, and the entire left of the Danube was occupied by the Muscovite troops.

The Turks had resolved to make their first stand on the Danube, the fortresses of which had been armed, provisioned and garrisoned. A reserve was formed at Adrianople: Schumla had been strengthened, and garrisoned with thirty thousand men, and the irregular hordes of Albanians, Bosniaks, Roumelians and Bulgarians had been called out. In Asia Minor the preparations were equally active and formidable, and it was thought that the Pasha of Erzerum could collect a hundred thousand men round his banners.

The plan of the campaign was entirely based upon the command of the sea, a matter of the utmost importance, and without which the Russian army could not have achieved that success, so disastrous to Turkey, with which this war was distinguished. Such was the effect of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino.

The Emperor Nicholas joined the army on the 8th June, and immediately the passage of the Danube was commenced. A corps forced the passage, which was opposed by eight thousand Turks, with a powerful artillery resting on the fortress of Isaktchi. The Turks abandoned their guns, and fled in disorder, and the passage continued without further interruption. Count Nesselrode published from Isaktchi an address to the inhabitants of the principalities, declaring that "the wishes of his imperial master were limited to securing to them their legal rights and privileges under the *protection of Russia*." Kustendji, a fortress situated at the eastern extremity of Trajan's wall, capitulated on condition of the men being conducted to Pravadi. Thus the Russians acquired a fortified harbour on the Euxine, the importance of which appeared in the arrival next day of twenty-six ships laden with provisions and stores from Odessa.

Meanwhile the siege of Brahamlow continued to be prosecuted with vigour. This fortress, the strongest and most important on the lower Danube, had none of the advantages of modern science in the construction of its defences; but in its rude wooden and mud houses dwelt thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom ten thousand were capable of bearing arms. The garrison was of nearly equal strength; and they proved to the Muscovites that they had not degenerated from the valour of their ancestors.

Operations against this stronghold began on the 17th May; the trenches were armed with 24-pounders; and on the 25th a heavy fire commenced on the place. The Mus-sulmans gave little disturbance to the besiegers; their whole care was in preparing a warm reception for the enemy when he should venture to mount the breach. Mines having been run under the walls, they were fired on the 15th June, and a breach of thirty paces wide was effected. Before the smoke had cleared away, and while the fragments were still falling, a Russian column rushed forward to the assault, which was repulsed with great slaughter. The troops were repeatedly led back to the attack: all their efforts were in vain; and the Russians withdrew on all sides, having, by their own admission, three thousand killed and wounded around the breach.

On the following day a fresh mine was sprung, and the governor, who did not feel himself in sufficient strength to resist a second attack, capitulated with all the honours of war. Two hundred and seventy guns, seventeen thousand pounds of powder, immense stores of wood, and provisions which entirely subsisted the army for a month, fell into the hands of the victors. Many smaller fortresses surrendered at the first summons, and the whole level country between the Danube and the sea, as far as the wall of Trajan, was occupied by the enemy.

The advantages which the Russians possessed in their naval superiority in the Black Sea, was very apparent throughout the whole of this war; and indeed, mainly contributed to their success. An expedition, consisting of eight ships of the line and six frigates, having on board seven thousand land troops, sailed on the 15th May from Sebastopol, and made for Anapa, a fortress on the opposite shore of Asia Minor, at the foot of the Caucasus. On the 11th June the place capitulated. The besiegers found eighty-five guns on the ramparts, abundant stores of ammunition and provisions in the magazines, and became masters of a fortified harbour of great value on the north-eastern coast of Asia Minor. Had Russia, at this time, not had the command of the Black Sea, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to have marched her troops by land,

to their destinations in Asia Minor. They must have made the immense round by the pass of Vladi-Kavkas, or the Gates of Derbend on the Caspian Sea, a march of immense length, difficulty, and danger.

Owing to the superiority of the Turkish cavalry, the Russians received a severe check in the neighbourhood of Bazardjik, in which they lost twelve hundred men, after which, Nicholas paused a week, to give time to his reinforcements to come up. On the 15th July he resumed his march, with fifty thousand men and a hundred and eight guns. A severe cavalry action shortly ensued, in which the Russians lost six hundred men; and it was only by the advance of a body of infantry and artillery, that the advanced guard was rescued from total destruction. It was the Spahis of Bulgaria, each superbly armed, and mounted on his own horse, that constituted this formidable feudal militia. Nothing could exceed the vehemence of their charge; and their courage was now restrained by discipline, and directed by prudence.

On the 20th July, a general movement took place towards Schumla; but the Turks being deficient in infantry and artillery, they were in no condition to oppose the enemy. After several brilliant charges of cavalry, they retired within their entrenched camp at Schumla, where forty thousand men were now assembled.

The Emperor did not run the hazard of attacking Schumla, the key to the Balkan, and the crossing point of all the roads in that quarter, which traverse the mountain barrier. It was therefore resolved to observe Schumla only with a corps of thirty thousand men, and to direct the remainder of the army against Varna. The Emperor himself set out on the 2d August for Varna, and embarked for Odessa. Here he ordered a general levy of four men in five hundred for the service of the army; and he contracted a loan with the house of Hopes at Amsterdam for £1,800,000. These measures sufficiently indicated the charges of the war, and the vast loss of life with which it had already been attended.

The prospect of the Russians at this stage of the war was sufficiently gloomy. The plague had made great ravages

in the army. The pestilential fevers of autumn had appeared in the principalities: the hospitals were filled with sick; and without having fought a pitched battle, the invading army was reduced by one half. Notwithstanding their command of the sea, provisions had become scarce; and the inhabitants, to conceal what they had, fled into the woods and mountains to avoid their oppressors.

Nevertheless, the position of the Turks was critical; their frontier fortresses had mostly fallen into the hands of the enemy: they were blockaded in their stronghold, the last and the greatest bulwark of the empire. Constantinople itself was blockaded by sea, and the supplies from the Euxine on which it had hitherto depended entirely cut off. Nevertheless the firmness and courage of the Sultan and his council was not abated; and every measure was taken to recruit the army, and to rouse the military enthusiasm of the people.

Meanwhile, various operations took place before Schumla, in which the Ottomans for the most part were victorious. They gained substantial fruits by their successful enterprises in the introduction of a considerable body of troops, and a large convoy of ammunition and provisions into their entrenched camp.

While affairs were wearing a sombre aspect around Schumla, the siege of Varna had come to be seriously prosecuted by sea and land. On the 5th September, the Emperor arrived in person, and the besieging force was reinforced by 21,000 men, with ninety-six guns. The siege and defence was conducted with equal bravery on both sides, until the governor Jussuf Pasha, *the second in command*, imagining his situation hopeless, negotiations were commenced on the 8th October. On the 10th the place was surrendered, and on the 11th the garrison, 6,800 strong, were made prisoners of war. One hundred and sixty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts.

Whatever may have been the ultimate fate of Varna, it is pretty evident that Jussuf Pasha betrayed his sovereign and his country. No regular assault had been delivered, and the garrison still possessed the means of defence. But whatever doubt might be entertained on the point, it was

soon removed by the conduct of Jussuf Pasha. He repaired in person, first on board the *Ville de Paris* in the roads, and then to the Emperor's tent on shore, to conduct the capitulation, and afterwards sailed away in a Russian frigate to Odessa. He soon after received an ample grant of lands in the Crimea from the Emperor, in compensation, it was alleged, for his extensive estates in Macedonia, confiscated by orders of the Sultan! The Russian generals were in the hope of being able to reduce Silistria before winter, but it became evident that it could not be undertaken with any prospect of success before the following spring. The blockade therefore was raised, and orders sent to Wittgenstein to retreat with all his forces behind the Danube. The Emperor himself set sail for Odessa.

The retreat of the Russian army was most disastrous. Eye-witnesses of both compare it to the Moscow retreat. Caissons and baggage were abandoned at every step; the stragglers nearly all fell into the enemy's hands, by whom they were instantly massacred. The wearied columns at last reached the Danube, which they immediately crossed, and spread themselves in winter-quarters over Wallachia. Thus ended in Europe the campaign of 1828. With the exception of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were abandoned without resistance, and the reduction of Brahamlow and Varna, the Russians had made no sensible progress. They had by their own admission lost nearly half the troops engaged; for out of 158,000 which had crossed the Pruth, only 80,000 remained in November in the fortresses they had subdued, and in winter-quarters.

The Ottomans too, had sustained very great losses. Two of their frontier fortresses had been wrested from them; and above half of the garrison of Schumla had left their colours, and returned home in the beginning of winter.

The campaign in Asia during the same year, although apparently of less importance, was attended with more decisive results. General Paskewitch, who directed it, had won during his successful campaigns against Persia, a solid base of operations on the Araxis by the acquisition of Erivan and other fortresses, and from them, he commenced a most brilliant and successful campaign. The force under

his command was small, but the troops were brave, hardy, and well disciplined. It consisted, in all, of 20,854 infantry, 5,514 cavalry, and 114 guns. Of these, however, only 8,561 infantry, 3,346 cavalry, and 70 guns, were under the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief, and achieved all the successes of the war.

If the Caucasian mountains be alone considered as forming the natural defences of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, the object which Russia had in view, in occupying the rugged and gloomy passes of those inhospitable regions, and of establishing herself upon the Araxis, will at once be perceived. The Caucasus forms a vast barrier between the Black Sea and the Caspian, inaccessible to mortal foot, alternately glittering in a cloudless sun, or enveloped in impenetrable mists. Generally speaking, there are two vast ranges of mountains running opposite to each other, and both terminating in a peak of great magnitude and elevation. The Elbruz is the culminating point of the northern of the two ranges, and Mount Ararat of the southern. Each is about 15,300 feet in height, or as nearly as possible the elevation of Mount Blanc. The medium elevation of the two chains is about 10,000 feet, and their summits are so rugged and sharp that, except in a few places where they are intersected by deep and narrow ravines, forming the well known passes through them, they are wholly impassable even by foot-soldiers.

Seen from the north, the Caucasus presents a vast barrier rising insensibly from 1,200 to 10,000 feet in height. The summits of the first range, which do not exceed 4,000 feet, are covered with grass; not a tree nor a shrub breaks the even surface; but their sides are furrowed by frightful ravines, through which torrents descend with irresistible violence. The character of the interior range is quite different. Dark forests clothe their shaggy sides; their summits start up into a thousand fantastic and inaccessible peaks which repose in icy stillness on the azure firmament.

The principal pass is the great military road of Vladicaucse, which leads into Georgia. It is defended by fortified block-houses at all the stations, and which at its highest point of elevation, at the mountain of the Holy Cross, is

7,974 feet above the level of the sea. The Pass, at that summit, is called "The Iron Gate." The road which forms the Russian line of communication to the eastern parts of Georgia, is that which goes by the shore of the Caspian through the famous gates of Derbend. This pass is formed by the meeting of a perpendicular precipice, 1,400 feet in elevation, the last face of the Caucasus, and the shore of the Caspian Sea. These fortifications were erected in ancient times by the kings of Persia, to avert the incursions of the Tartars. But how formidable soever they may appear, the incursions of Gingham Khan and Timour were effected by these passes, through which, repeatedly, three and four thousand ruthless barbarians have passed on horseback, carrying their forage at their saddle-bows, bent on devastation and plunder.

The Russian army in the Caucasus is generally thirty thousand strong. The great military roads through the range are kept open by large bodies of men; strong forts are placed at every station, and the very lazarettos are loop-holed and guarded to prevent them from falling into the hands of the mountaineers.

Asia Minor, which is sheltered from the blasts of the north by the rampart of the Caucasus, has in every period of history borne an important part alike in Asiatic and European annals. It is intersected by a variety of mountain ranges, and its valleys and plains abound with the choicest gifts of nature. The climate of Georgia, which stretches to the south, is mild and temperate, and where the valleys approach the plain of Mesopotamia, the productions of the temperate zone are blended with those of the tropical regions. It is on these sunny slopes that the Garden of Eden is placed by Scripture, and from thence that the human race set out on its pilgrimage through the globe. On the banks of the Kar and the Kuban, the former of which descends through the chains of Elbruz and Ararat, to the Caspian, and the latter from the west of the Elbruz to the Black Sea, realises all that Milton has conceived of the charms of Paradise. Here the most choice and delicate fruits are found in profusion; green pastures nourish innumerable flocks, and the finest crops of wheat, maize and

barley, almost without labour, reward the husbandman. The perfection of the animals which are found in that favoured region, and the exquisite beauty of the women, celebrated over all the world, bespeak the beneficence of nature. Yet in these plains, the slave bends under the rod of the tyrant, and these valleys of surpassing loveliness and beauty, are alternately swept by the incursions of ruthless mountaineers, or deluged with the blood of barbarian warriors.

Erzeroum, the capital of Asia Minor, is a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants—the seat of a Pasha of the highest grade; and in the government and defence of the empire, is second only to Constantinople. The character of the country in Asia Minor, between the Caucasus and Erzeroum, adds immensely to its capabilities of defence against a northern invader. It is intersected in all directions by rugged and precipitous ranges of hills, so twisted and interwoven with each other, that they are almost impervious to regular European troops, burdened with artillery and chariots, while the passage is easy to Turkish hordes who are seldom troubled with any such encumbrances. Fortresses guard the most important passes, or crown the overhanging cliffs. The road by the coast stops at Trebizond. Only one road fit for carriages traverses the centre of the country by Kars to Erzeroum, and it is defended by several formidable forts. The third is the line of Ararat. The centre line, is the great road, used for thousands of years from Tiflis to Constantinople. After mature consideration, Paskewitch chose the centre road, chiefly because it presented fewer difficulties of a physical nature. The object which Paskewitch desired, was to make himself master of Erzeroum, the capital city, and centre of the Turkish power in Asia. With this view, his first movement was directed upon Kars, a fortress of strength, which lay directly upon the road to the capital. The Turks, on their side, had made vigorous preparations. The Pasha of Erzeroum, with sixty thousand men, was to advance on Kars, to raise the siege, while the Pasha of Akhilska, a strong fortress on the Russian right, was to threaten their flank. But before the Ottoman militia could be collected, the Russian troops were before Kars. This fortress, of

great natural as well as artificial strength, was built by Amurath III. in 1578, and is celebrated over all Asia, as having repulsed Nadir Shah, at the head of ninety thousand Persians, after he had defeated a hundred thousand Turks in its vicinity. The garrison was six thousand strong, and four thousand armed citizens. The Turks soon found that they had different enemies to deal with than the desultory bands of Persians. Trenches were opened on the 22d June, and on the 15th July, the governor surrendered. The garrison were made prisoners; and a hundred and twenty-nine pieces of cannon, twenty-two mortars, thirty-three standards, and great stores of ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.


In order to secure a solid base for future operations, it became necessary to reduce the strong fortress of Akhilska, and thither the Muscovite army directed its steps. The garrison was more than double the force which the Russian general could bring against it. The fortress was very strong, and it was defended by the most warlike and indomitable inhabitants in these regions, all of whom had sworn to bury themselves in the ruins rather than surrender it to the ancient enemies of their country and their faith. The defence of the garrison and the inhabitants was worthy of their renown; but they were compelled to give way before the superior discipline and science of the west.

The subsequent movements of the Russian army among the rugged, desolate and pathless mountains of Asia Minor were crowned with success. The achievements of Paskevitch were rapid, brilliant and decisive, obviously the result of superior generalship and tactics. The approach of the Russians spread the utmost consternation in the capital. On the 19th July, 1829, the advanced guard arrived before Erzeroum, and on the following day he himself arrived with the guns and the great bulk of the forces. An immediate attack was ordered on Top-Dagh, a rocky eminence commanding the town, which was decisive of the fate of the capital. A capitulation was agreed upon, and on the anniversary of the battle of Pultova the troops entered the city, and the Russian standards waved on the ramparts of the capital of the Turkish empire in Asia.

The administrative measures of Paskewitch were as judicious as his military operations were successful. He had succeeded in establishing his power over provinces which his arms had never reached, and he was proceeding to lead back part of his army to winter quarters in Georgia, when despatches were received by both parties announcing the conclusion of a convention between the Grand Vizier and General Diebitch, with the view to the conclusion of a peace at Adrianople.

When the achievements of the Russian arms had well nigh prostrated the power of Turkey in Asia, events much more momentous in their character took place in European Turkey. The breathing-time which had been afforded by the closing of the campaign of 1828, had been made good use of by both parties. The Mussulmans who had returned to their homes at the beginning of winter, crowded to their standards when spring returned; and in the beginning of March the Grand Vizier had forty thousand men in the intrenched camp around Schumla. The most pressing orders were sent to the Pashas of Widdin, Janina, Adrianople, and Scutari, to hasten to the theatre of war with all their forces. But they did not obey the summons. Had they duly marched with all their contingents, there would have been two hundred thousand Ottomans to defend the line of the Balkan. The results of the war have made it sufficiently evident, that had these chiefs obeyed their sovereign, the Russian army would in vain have attempted to cross the mountain barrier. Some held back from disaffection. The Pasha of Widdin delayed from treachery; and the Pasha of Scutari, who should have appeared with thirty thousand men, did not come up till the campaign was over. It was evident that the feud with the Janizaries had paralysed great part of the strength of the empire; and the result was that the Turks had not above a hundred thousand men altogether in arms in Europe, and above the half of this force was absorbed in the fortresses on the Danube.

The preparations of Russia had been on a most gigantic scale. One hundred and twenty thousand men were drawn from the army of the south, and twenty thousand Cossacks from Bessarabia. Making a liberal deduction from these



numbers for non-effective, and loss from sickness and fatigue, it may be inferred that they began the campaign in Bulgaria and on the line of the Danube with nearly two hundred thousand men. This army had with it five hundred and forty guns; and provisions for the immense host for two months were stored on the Danube.

Various considerable operations had taken place on the Danube during the winter. Several inferior fortresses and a flotilla of thirty gun-boats had been captured by the Russians; but a more important acquisition was the castle of Sizepolis on the Black Sea at the eastern end, and within the line of the Balkan.

If the superiority of the Russians at sea, both in the Euxine and the Mediterranean, gave them great advantages, it operated with decisive effect against the Turks. It threatened to starve Constantinople itself into an early submission, and deprived the Turks of all possibility of transporting their troops or magazines by water. So great are the advantages which this superiority at sea confers, that it is universally admitted, that without the command of the sea on their left or the co-operation of Austria on their right, the Russian army could never have reached the plains of Roumelia.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1829 Wittgenstein was removed, and Count Diebitch, the chief of his staff, appointed to the command. The plan of operations, based upon the possession of Varna and the Black Sea, was to besiege Silistria, Roustchouck, and Schumla, and having made themselves masters of these places, to push across the Balkan by the eastern valleys between Schumla and the sea. The campaign commenced about the beginning of May. The Russians advanced in two huge columns to the Danube, which they began to pass at Hirchova and Kalavatsch, immediately below Silistria. The passage was completed on the 10th, and the left column approached that fortress, which was the first object of the campaign. The communications of the invading army with the besieging force before Silistria and with Varna, were kept up by the forces under General Roth, and eight thousand men stationed at Pravadi.

Redschid Pasha, who had been recently called from

Greece to the important station of Grand Vizier, had collected forty thousand men in Schumla, and he resolved to commence the campaign by an attack on Pravadi. Some brilliant exploits ensued, in which the Russians claim the advantage, and their opponents withdrew to the intrenched camp in front of Schumla.

Meanwhile Silistria had been invested. This town, which is situated on the right bank of the Danube near the angle which it forms by suddenly taking a northerly direction, contained in 1829 twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly six thousand were enrolled among the armed defenders of the place. The town is very imperfectly fortified, being surrounded by a wall which has ten fronts, each of which has two small bastions which give a flanking fire to the ditch in front of the walls. There is no covered way or outworks of any consequence, and the glacis is very imperfect. The besieging force was thirty-five thousand strong, and Diebitch was at the head of a covering army of forty thousand, a little in advance, towards Schumla. The garrison, exclusive of the armed inhabitants, was nearly ten thousand, commanded by Achmet Pasha, a man of determined resolution and tried ability. The siege, although pressed with vigour, was considerably interrupted by the inundations of the Danube, so that the progress during the first week was exceedingly slow. This circumstance induced the Grand Vizier to conceive a plan which, if successful, might be attended with decisive effect on the issue of the campaign. He resolved to issue from the camp at Schumla, attack Pravadi, and thereby compel the enemy to abandon the siege. On the 28th May, at the head of thirty-six thousand men, he directed his steps across the hills, and on the 1st June he reached the valley in which Pravadi stands. Intelligence of this movement was instantly despatched to Diebitch, when he at once conceived and executed a bold and decisive measure. On the 5th June he set out from the shores of the Danube at the head of twenty thousand men, leaving General Krasowsky to continue the siege of Silistria, and moved by forced marches, not on the Grand Vizier's force in front of Eski-Arnaultar, but on his line of communication with Schumla. By this means he would

compel the Turks either to abandon Schumla or to fight their way back to it through the Russian army. Either contingency, it was conceived, would be equally disastrous to the Turks. Pravadi stands in a deep valley shut in by mountain ridges, the offshoots of the Balkan, about two thousand feet in height. The valleys formed by these ridges are so arranged that an army passing from Schumla to Pravadi, must pass a point at Madara. Thither, accordingly, Diebitch directed his steps: and on the 9th June Count Phalen with the advanced guard, stationed himself there. The enemy was entirely concealed from the Ottomans by a curtain of light troops under General Roth drawn between them and the Russian line of advance; and by forced marches, that general effected his junction with Diebitch, thereby raising the forces between the Turks and Schumla to thirty-one thousand men, and one hundred and forty-six guns.

Owing to the unscientific arrangements of their armies and their method of conducting a campaign, the Turkish generals up to this period had never been able, especially when engaged with a disciplined army, to ascertain exactly the movements of the enemy, and therefore they never could perceive with any clearness, his probable intentions. The same primitive rudeness appears in the machinery of the internal government of Turkey. The governments of the other states of Europe, by the efficiency of their internal police, and their admirably appointed diplomatic staffs, are enabled to discover everything that may be going on of a disturbing influence, not only within their own dominions, but every movement or preparation of a hostile or dangerous character, that may be brewing, not in Europe only, but in every part of the world where their interests may be concerned. But the Turks, in military as well as in civil matters, often remain in ignorance of approaching danger till the cloud bursts over their heads.

The position of Redschid Pasha before Pravadi, with the Russian army on his rear, is an illustration of the deficiency of the Turks in modern military science. But neither was the Russian army in a safe position. It was scattered from Boulanik by Madara to near Pravadi, a distance of twenty-

five miles; and had Diebitch been in presence of Napoleon or Wellington, or even of Paskewitch, he would probably have paid dear for his temerity. The Turkish commander was first made aware on the 10th by some prisoners taken in a combat of cavalry that his communications with Schumla were entirely cut off. Three lines of retreat to that fortress alone existed, two of which were mere mountain paths, difficult for the Turkish artillery, which was all drawn by bullocks. As the Grand Vizier was in the belief that he had only the corps of Roth and Rudiger to oppose him in his retreat, he preferred the central road by Madara, and he anticipated little difficulty in re-entering Schumla. In the first encounter the Russians were completely routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and five pieces of cannon. Following up their victory, the Turks threw themselves on the squares of infantry, two of which were broken, and one of them, sixteen hundred in number, was entirely cut up. Six guns were also taken. Three of the squares made their way back to the valley of Kouleftscha. Here the Turks met a severe check, and they regained the position they had left in the morning with heavy loss. Had the Grand Vizier's reserve, which remained inactive, been brought up, he would not only have cleared the road to Schumla, but achieved a glorious victory.

Diebitch perceiving the position of the Turks, drew together every disposable man and gun, and resolved to bring on a general action. The Russian army, superior in equipments as well as in discipline, gained a decisive victory, and forty pieces of artillery out of fifty-six fell into the hands of the enemy; five thousand were slain in the battle and pursuit, and fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and more than half the fugitives threw away their arms, and were never seen again. The Russians sustained a loss of three thousand five hundred killed and wounded. Owing to the inactivity or oversight of Diebitch, the Grand Vizier reached Schumla on the morning of the 13th with six thousand horse; and part of his infantry succeeded in scrambling through the rocks and woods, and on that and the succeeding day, reached the camp. The magnitude of his loss was then apparent. The Grand Vizier could only muster twelve thousand foot

soldiers, and six thousand horse, with twelve guns, the remains of forty thousand men and fifty-six guns, which had issued from the place, in fine order, a few days before.

The expedition of Diebitch only retarded the siege of Silistria. The Turks made a most gallant defence, notwithstanding the discouragement produced by the defeat at Kouleftscha. On the 19th they made a general sortie, which was attended with such success that the Russians were everywhere driven back to their batteries, and the ground lost was not regained till noon on the following day. On the succeeding day flames burst forth in every part of the town, which together with the arrival of Diebitch at the besiegers' lines, created such consternation, that the inhabitants besieged the governor with petitions for a capitulation. On the 30th June a great mine under the rampart having been exploded, and the two Pashas who commanded in the town, seeing further resistance hopeless, agreed to surrender. The troops were made prisoners of war, and to the number of eight thousand laid down their arms. The Russians entered the fortress by the breach on the first of July, and there were found on the ramparts, two hundred and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, besides thirty-one on board the flotilla in the harbour.

The apathy of the Turks or the incapacity of Redschid Pasha, or perhaps both, appeared conspicuously at this juncture. In the beginning of August, when Silistria fell, there were only 18,000 troops in the fortress of Schumla, and the eastern passes of the Balkan between it and the sea, were occupied only by three thousand men.

The Balkan, the Mount Hæmus of antiquity, which stretches from east to west, the whole breadth of Turkey, presents the very greatest obstacles to an invading army. This range is far inferior to the Pyrenees, the Alps, or the Caucasus, in altitude and ruggedness; but it is superior to either in the difficulties which it opposes to the march of armies. The Alps never prevented the march of the French into Italy; the Caucasus was penetrated by the Russians; even the Himalaya was pierced by the battalions of Britain. But the hills of Torres-Vedras presented an impassable barrier to the armies of Napoleon.

The highest summits of the Balkans attain an elevation of not less than 9,600 feet. These are covered with immense masses of naked granite and accumulations of debris. In Serbia and Bulgaria, the heights are covered with forests. In general, however, this chain is not much higher than the Lammermoors in Scotland, or the Vosges mountains near Kaiserslautern. This mountain range runs nearly parallel to the Danube, at from forty to fifty miles to the south, and presents a wooded and intricate ridge about thirty miles broad, which must be crossed before the plains of Roumelia are reached. The mountains are intersected by gullies and watercourses, and are generally covered with forests, and thickets of brushwood. The very benignity of the climate augments its defensible character. There are twelve or fifteen mountain paths over the Balkans, but only five are practicable for carriages or artillery. These are the old Roman road from Constantinople by Sophia and Belgrade to Vienna, two from Ternova, and two from Schumla, by Karnabat and Aidos. Those from Ternova are the most difficult. That by Aidos is the most frequented. The mountains there are about 3,000 feet high; and the summit-level of the road is not above half that height. The hills are chiefly conical, and generally covered with oak and beech trees of a very large size, and the valleys are clothed with evergreens. The difficulty that an invading army must encounter before it can cross such mountain passes as those described, may readily be supposed; and strange to say, the Turks had made no preparations adequate even to defend such a barrier. The Grand Vizier, at this crisis, fell into the same error, which had formerly been fatal to so many Turkish generals, in conceiving that what had hitherto been the plans of the enemy would, in similar circumstances, still continue to be acted upon. Thus preoccupied with the idea that Schumla was the real object of attack, he believed that it would prove the vital point, as it had hitherto done in all preceding campaigns. Unmindful of the enemy's attack on Varna, Pravadi, and Sizepolis, which clearly indicated that a serious attempt was to be made in that direction, and of the invaluable advantages the invading army would derive from its communication with the fleet, should it

advance by the coast road, the Grand Vizier had only 3,000 men and 12 guns to oppose the corps of Roth and Rudiger, when they arrived with 20,000 men at the entrance of the pass that leads by the valley of Kamtjik, from the northern side, and crosses the ridge between Kouprikios and Aidos.

Diebitch determined immediately to force the passage. Each soldier was supplied with four days' provisions, and ten days' more were put into the waggons which followed each regiment, and the march began on the 17th July. The small body of Turks were easily overthrown, and they left all their guns and five hundred prisoners in the hands of the Russians. No obstacle remained to interrupt the passage. Arriving at the summit, the Russian troops obtained a view of the whole southern slopes of the Balkan, with the bay of Burgos, covered with their sails, and embosomed with wood-clad hills, which formed the eastern extremity of the ridge. The corps of Roth occupied Bourgas, while that of Rudiger, on the right, entered Aidos.

The Grand Vizier, when too late, discovered his mistake. He despatched ten thousand men to guard the pass above Kouprikios; but they arrived only to return the mournful intelligence that the passage was already won.

The position of Diebitch was fraught with the most imminent danger. Such was the dispersion of the forces necessary for keeping up his communications, over his immense lines, from Silistria to Aidos, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, and from Bourgas to Selimno, a distance of above eighty miles, that the disposable force to the south of the Balkan did not exceed twenty-one thousand men. In front of these were twenty thousand Turks. On their right flank was the Pasha of Scodra, who might ere long be expected with twenty-five thousand Arnouts and Albanians, and in their rear was the Grand Vizier with eighteen thousand in the intrenched camp at Schumla. There was no middle course between dictating a glorious peace or total ruin. Such was the anxiety felt at St. Petersburg, that the Emperor ordered a fresh levy of ninety thousand men, and contracted a loan of £2,000,000 in Holland for the prosecution of the war. Diebitch succeeded in concealing his real weakness from the Turks, and he continued to advance with little

opposition, and such were his successes, that he resolved to march on Adrianople.

The Turkish army, twenty thousand strong, deceived by the exaggerated reports which had been spread of Diebitch's army, retired to the ridge of low hills twenty-five miles in front of Constantinople, and the Russians continued to advance by forced marches, generally twenty miles a-day, down the course of the river Tomalia towards the city. On the troops pressed with ceaseless vigour, over rugged and almost impassable roads, and under the ardent rays of the sun, which shone forth with uncommon brilliancy. Such is the fickle nature of the Ottoman character, and so suddenly do they pass from one extreme to another, that the peasants of the country beheld with transports, the troops of the conqueror. On the 19th August 1829, the Russian army entered the ancient capital of the Muscovites. The Russian general passed the gates in triumph, and took up his residence in the palace recently prepared for Sultan Mahmoud.

The better to impose upon the Turks, the Russian general spread out his army in every direction. It extended its arms from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, across the entire breadth of Turkey, and was supported by a fleet at the extremity of either flank; the reserve blockaded eighteen thousand men in Schumla, while its advanced guard threatened Constantinople. Had the Turks retained anything of their ancient enthusiasm, or had they been united in the common object of self-defence, a terrible catastrophe might have awaited the army of Diebitch. In confirmation of this remark, it is only necessary to refer to the sudden irruption of the Pasha of Scodra, who in the end of September appeared on the scene at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and declared his intention of breaking off the proposed peace. The surprise and alarm that this sudden apparition occasioned to the Russian commander-in-chief was such, that he instantly ordered forward all the troops that could be collected in Wallachia, and desired General Kisselef to cease the blockade of Schumla and join the army at Adrianople. The latter succeeded in pushing through the pass of Anatza and getting in behind the Pasha in the neighbourhood of Sophia; still he continued his ad-

vance, declaring that he would be at Adrianople in eight days. He had already got to Hermanli, half way from Philippoli to that city, when he was met by the messenger of the Sultan with the ratification of the treaty. This nevertheless revealed the depth of the abyss from which the Russian army was rescued from the want of co-operation in the Turkish commanders. It is the opinion of no mean authority, that had the Pasha advanced a month sooner, nothing could have saved the Russians from a disaster similar to the Moscow retreat. The Pasha belonged to the old party of the Janizaries, and his object was to hang back till the necessities of the Sultan enabled him to make terms for the restoration of that body ; but he lost his opportunity by delaying too long.

In the middle of September the force under Diebitch at Adrianople did not exceed fifteen thousand men ; and on the 8th November, when they were all mustered for a grand review, there were scarcely thirteen thousand men of all arms in the field.

The decisive success of the Russian arms produced an immense sensation, not only in Constantinople but over all Europe. The English and Austrian ambassadors were active in their efforts to bring about an accommodation, by moderating the demands of Russia, and overcoming the obstinacy of the Sultan. Indeed, this anxiety was manifested in higher quarters ; for the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich, the statesmen at the head of their respective countries, had entered into a secret convention to avert the conquest of Turkey by force of arms ; and accordingly the English admiral in the Mediterranean had orders, if Russia proved obdurate, to attack the fleet of Admiral Heiden, in the Greek waters, and conduct it as a pledge to Malta. The firmness of the Sultan Mahmoud was at last overcome, and, with tears in his eyes, he agreed to the treaty of Adrianople.

This was the most disastrous war in which Turkey had yet been engaged. The Emperor Nicholas, in deference to the jealousy of Europe, had publicly disclaimed all intention of aggrandizing his dominions ; and yet, by the treaty of Adrianople, he acquired the fortresses of Anapa Poli,

Akhilka, Alzkow, and Akhilkillak, with a considerable portion of territory round them. In a military point of view they constituted most important acquisitions. The islands at the mouths of the Danube were also reserved to Russia. All the privileges and immunities secured by former treaties, as well as the conventions relative to Servia, were ratified in their fullest extent. The indemnity to be awarded to Russian subjects complaining of arbitrary acts on the part of the Turkish government was fixed at £750,000, payable in eighteen months, and that to the Russian government for the expenses of the war at £5,000,000 sterling. The evacuation of the Turkish territories was not to be completed till the indemnities were entirely paid up.

Separate articles respecting the principalities were signed on the same day, and amount to a virtual surrender of these provinces to Russia. They bear that the Hospodars, who had hitherto been elected for seven years, should receive their appointments for life; that the Pashas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not to be at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; that these provinces should be exempted from paying contributions in corn, provisions, cattle, or timber; that the Sublime Porte engage not to maintain any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube; that the towns situated on the left bank, including Giurgevo, should be restored to Wallachia, and their fortifications never rebuilt, and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to sell them to the natives in the space of eighteen months. The government of the Hospodars was to be entirely independent of Turkey. The principalities were to be occupied by the Russian troops till the indemnity was fully paid up, for which ten years were allowed; and to be relieved of all tribute to the Porte during their occupation, and for two years after it had ceased.

The treaty of Adrianople affords a striking instance of the encroaching policy which has characterised the cabinet of St. Petersburg since the time of Peter the Great. While hatching schemes of conquest, and preparing armies for the

subjugation of surrounding states, Russia invariably disclaims all idea of territorial aggrandisement. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg has gained the unenviable distinction of surpassing all other governments in a false, hypocritical, and cunning diplomacy, and that superiority has hitherto been turned to good account. The war was undertaken ostensibly for the benefit of the adherents of the Greek church in certain parts of the Turkish empire, but it ended in the cession of a valuable territory on the Black Sea and in Georgia, including the strongest frontier fortresses of Turkey in Asia Minor. The command of the navigation of the Danube was secured by the acquisition of the islands at its mouth. With a show of moderation the principalities which had been overrun were relinquished; but Russia agreed to do so only by the payment of a ruinous indemnity, equal to five-sixths of the whole revenue of Turkey, and which seemed impossible it could ever defray. The destruction of the fortresses and the sale of Mussulman property on the left of the Danube, was obviously a step pointing to a transference of Moldavia and Wallachia to a Christian government. The stipulated interference in behalf of the Christian subjects of the Porte, especially in Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, was totally inconsistent with anything like independence in a sovereign state, and the absolute and universal amnesty in favour of all the subjects of the Porte who had been engaged in rebellion, invited the disaffected in every part of the Sultan's dominions, to look to St. Petersburg for a shield against the real or supposed injustice of their own government.

When the condition of the Turkish empire at the commencement of the war, is taken into consideration, it appears surprising that the immense forces which Russia brought to bear against it, did not, with perfect ease, trample the newly levied armies of the Sultan in the dust. The Turkish land forces had been exhausted by seven bloody campaigns with the Greeks; their marine ruined in the battle of Navarino; the Janizaries had been in part destroyed, and in part alienated, and only twenty thousand of the regular troops intended to replace them were as yet assembled round the standard of the Prophet. Russia, on

the other hand had been making preparations for six years: she had enjoyed thirteen years of European peace, and a hundred and twenty thousand men were assembled on the Pruth, ready to wait the signal to march to Constantinople. Yet with all these advantages, it required two campaigns to reach to Adrianople; and as it was, it was owing to the treachery of the Pasha of Scodra, that the daring march to Adrianople did not terminate in a disaster second only to the Moscow retreat. The strength which Russia put forth was immense. A hundred and sixty thousand men crossed the Danube in the course of the first campaign. A hundred and forty thousand were brought up to reinforce them in the second; yet with all this, they could only bring up thirty-one thousand men at the decisive battle of Kouleftscha, and when their victorious march was stopped, only fifteen thousand were assembled at Adrianople! The ablest military historians estimate their loss at one hundred and fifty thousand men. A very small part of this immense force perished by the sword; fatigue, sickness, and desertion produced the greatest part of the dreadful chasm.

REBELLION OF MAHOMET ALI.

Scarcely had the war with Russia terminated when the Ottoman empire was again involved in difficulties, which brought about a friendly but dangerous alliance with her former enemy. Though nominally professing allegiance to the Sultan, the two Pashas of Acre and Egypt had, for many years, been nearly independent of his authority. Mahomet Ali of Egypt, though by far the most powerful of the two, persevered in a show of reverence and obedience to the Sublime Porte. Not so Abdellah of Acre. In 1822 he boldly threw aside his mask of submission, and at the head of an army composed of Arabs, Druses, and mercenaries from all parts of the Turkish empire, he endeavoured to seize the pashalic of Damascus. The attempt did not succeed, and he was compelled to retreat. He shut himself up in the strong fortress of Acre, where, by the command of the Porte, he was besieged by five neighbouring Pashas.

After ten months' siege, Mahomet Ali having become mediator with the Porte, the daring Abdellah was pardoned by the Sultan, and restored to his former honours, on condition of paying a heavy sum of money as a fine. In this transaction Mahomet Ali conceived he had laid both Sultan Mahmoud and Abdellah Pasha under obligations to himself. From the latter, it is certain, he thenceforward exacted more deference than that proud chieftain was inclined to pay. At last, in November 1831, the quarrel between Mahomet Ali and Abdellah Pasha of Acre, broke out. Proceeding now, without waiting orders from the Porte, an Egyptian army laid siege to Acre, and took it on the 27th May, 1832, after a bold resistance of six months. The fierce Abdellah was carried as a prisoner of war to Mahomet Ali, who treated him with great respect. Abdellah had been anything rather than a submissive or faithful vassal to the Sultan; but averse to see Pashas carrying on war on their own account, the Sultan reprobated the conduct of Mahomet Ali, and espoused the cause of Abdellah. Meanwhile Mahomet sent forward his son Ibrahim with an Egyptian army, which, almost without resistance, overran and occupied Syria, penetrated into Asia Minor, and advanced towards the capital of the Turkish empire. The struggle in Poland and the popular movements in Europe, had for a time diverted the attention of Russia from the East, but the revolution in the Ottoman dominions recalled her arms to Turkey. The Ottoman throne was shaken, and the Sultan was forced to seek foreign aid against his victorious vassals. Russia not only offered her assistance, but repeatedly and urgently pressed the Sultan to accept it. He had too much reason, however, to doubt her good faith, and he preferred applying to England and France. Britain was not at that time in a condition to grant the required assistance. One portion of her then meagre navy was employed with Portugal, another on the coast of Holland, and when the existence of Turkey was at stake, we had only a few frigates in the Mediterranean. France was almost equally powerless, and the Sultan urged his suit in vain to governments which had not the means of granting it. Left without any other alternative, he accepted the proffered

aid of Russia, and a fleet and army, prepared with incredible speed, found themselves for the first time in the Bosphorus.

Far from taking care of the strength or the future security of the sovereign to whom she extended her protection, she left to the other powers, who now found themselves forced to interpose, the task of prescribing limits to the victorious Pasha of Egypt. Russia had no objections that the Pasha should appropriate as much of the Turkish dominions as his power would enable him to retain, but she forbade him to seize the portion which she considered her own. When the danger was removed, her fleets and armies retired, and a manifesto of the Emperor proclaimed to Europe and Asia the singular moderation and magnanimity which had induced him to refrain from seizing the capital of a friendly sovereign whom he had sent his fleets and armies to protect. The Emperor was well aware that, at this juncture, he would have found in every nation in Europe, an ally to resent the treachery, had it been attempted.

But Russia was not long in exacting the price of her assistance and forbearance. By the treaty of the Unkiar Skellessi, Russia formed a defensive alliance, by which Turkey was bound to afford material aid to Russia in the event of her being attacked, and Russia undertook to protect Turkey against any enemy who might attack her. By a secret article in the treaty, Turkey undertook to close the Dardanelles against foreign ships of war. The effect of this treaty was to transfer to Russia the right of demanding the exclusion of ships of war from that channel; for Turkey had no longer a right to admit them when Russia might be at war with any naval power.

This treaty constituted Russia the virtual protector of Turkey; and was a step in the process by which Russia has effected the subjugation of almost all the countries she has conquered since the reign of Peter I. The discovery of this clandestine transaction had produced strong feelings of distrust in all the cabinets of Europe, and England and France protested against it. Russia felt that the just resentment of the other powers must be appeased by some real or apparent sacrifice. She offered to withdraw her

troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, having previously stipulated that the troops of Turkey should never again enter them, and that no Mahometan should reside there.

In consideration of additional cessions of territory in Asia, his Imperial Majesty consented to renounce one-third of the indemnity still due, but this third he had promised to relinquish when the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi was negotiated without requiring additional cessions of territory. Thus Russia acquired possession of the mountain passes that separate Armenia from Georgia, and of the fortresses that defend the Turkish frontier. The remainder of the indemnity was to be paid in smaller instalments, and by this arrangement, Silistria, which Russia held in pledge for the whole amount, would therefore remain so much longer in her hands.

Shortly after the suppression of the rebellion of Mahomet Ali, and the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Constantinople, this audacious and powerful chief again threatened the permanent dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. The Turkish forces had repeatedly been beaten—their fleet had been treacherously delivered over to the Viceroy of Egypt. Ibrahim Pasha had overrun Syria, had invaded Mesopotamia, established Mahomet Ali's authority in Arabia, and threatened to advance upon Constantinople.

In the midst of these disasters, Sultan Mahmoud had died, and, when the youthful Abdul Medjid ascended the throne, it appeared, that unless assisted by his allies, he would be forced to submit to such conditions as his rebellious vassals might impose.

By his enlightened policy and the energy of his government, Mahomet Ali had increased to an extraordinary extent the naval and military power of Egypt. He had 196,000 under arms, of which 155,000 were disciplined troops, and twenty-one ships of the line, and nine large frigates. This imposing force, together with the civil and warlike talents of the Pasha, led some of the European statesmen to speculate on the possible regeneration of the Ottoman empire in his hands. Great Britain, however, regarded the power of Mahomet Ali as destitute of all the moral elements of stability, and believed that if the present difficulties

could be overcome, Turkey would yet maintain and strengthen her position in Europe. She regarded the revolt and the success of the Pasha of Egypt as dangerous to the balance of power; and desiring to maintain the integrity of Turkey, proposed to reduce the Pasha to obedience, and to re-establish the Sultan's authority in that portion of his dominions in which his rebellious vassal had usurped the government.

France as well as England desired to preserve the Ottoman empire, and was prepared to concert with the other powers, to defend Constantinople and the throne of the Sultan against any attack that might be made by Mahomet Ali.

On the 27th July 1839, the four great powers presented to the Porte a collective note, which assured the Sultan of their protection. The Sultan was requested, if he invited to Constantinople the naval or military forces of any other power, to permit the French fleet to pass the Dardanelles. The statesmen then at the head of the French government, more openly than any other cabinet, expressed their distrust of Russia; and having formed an exaggerated estimate of the power of Mahomet Ali, or at all events, differing from the other cabinets upon the question, they would have preferred the hereditary possession of Syria and Egypt by Mahomet Ali and his descendants, rather than have allowed a Russian military force to enter Asia Minor and Syria. They believed that the Pasha could successfully resist any means of coercion that Great Britain and Austria could bring to bear upon him.

Russia finding herself pledged by the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi to protect Turkey, eagerly accepted the proposition of the British government to join in coercive measures against the rebellious Pasha. Baron Brunnow, her most accomplished diplomatist, forthwith arrived at London, to effect a cordial reconciliation between the courts, founded upon the coincidence of their views and objects in the Levant. The baron offered the virtual renunciation of the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi on the condition that the great powers would unite to protect the Sultan, and to enforce the acceptance by Mahomet Ali of such an arrangement as might be agreed

upon in concert with the Sultan. Russia knew that Austria and Prussia were ready to join the alliance, and that, independent of the reasons assigned by France for disapproving of coercive measures, there were domestic considerations that would prevent her government from accepting the proposals of England. Russia, therefore, contemplated not only her own reconciliation with Great Britain, but the probable isolation of France. The British government strove to avoid this result, but their hopes were not realised.

When the part to be assigned to each in the co-operation came to be discussed, the Russian envoy proposed that, if armed intervention should be necessary, "the defence of Constantinople and the Bosphorus should be assigned to Russia alone." Lord Palmerston required that in such an event the Dardanelles should be open to the fleets of the co-operating powers, when the Bosphorus was opened to the Russian forces. But this was a demand which the baron was not authorised to concede. In the meantime he urged the necessity of active measures, "leaving the question about the Dardanelles to be settled if and when it should arrive." The British minister rejected the proposal, and made the acquiescence of Russia in his demands as to the Dardanelles a *sine quâ non*. At last it was agreed "that a point should be determined in the Sea of Marmora, beyond which the ships of war permitted to pass the Dardanelles should not be at liberty to advance towards Constantinople and the Bosphorus."

The proposed convention was concluded at London on the 15th July 1840, between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey. The four powers engaged to unite their efforts in order to compel Mahomet Ali to conform to the arrangement agreed upon. They recognised "the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for ships of war of foreign powers to enter the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus," and engaged to respect it. The Sultan undertook "to maintain this principle as long as the Porte was at peace, to admit no foreign ships of war into the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles."

Thus was the treaty surreptitiously exacted from the Porte

at Unkiar Skellessi in 1833 tacitly set aside in 1840, the command of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles restored to Turkey on its ancient footing, and the guardianship of the four powers substituted for the exclusive protection of Russia.

The surrender of the great fortress of Acre to Admiral Stopford in a few hours, and the success of the naval and military operations in Syria, conducted by Commodore Napier, accomplished in a few weeks the objects contemplated by the treaty of London, and thereby demonstrated the real weakness of Mahomet Ali, and the moral influence of the Sultan. The authority of the Sultan was established on a firm basis without affording any occasion for the active intervention of Russia. The Ottoman empire was thus saved, if not from utter ruin, at least from anarchy and hopeless prostration.

The shock which Turkey had received awoke her from the dream of internal security into which she had fallen. The increased intercourse with Europe which her danger led her to cultivate, enlightened and enlarged the views of many of her ablest men. Her Mahometan subjects felt and acknowledged the insufficiency of the ancient system, and were prepared for the more liberal toleration which the government desired to establish. The exigencies of her position had made it necessary to conciliate all classes of her subjects by more careful attention to the equality of justice of the administration, and the Sultan and his advisers were enabled to proceed without obstruction in a prudent and progressive course of amelioration. The result has been that, of the despotic governments of Europe, there is perhaps not one in which the civil and fiscal administrations are more just, or less oppressive or vexatious than in Turkey. The loyalty of her population has become warmer, and her Christian subjects are now aware that their condition would not be improved by exchanging the government of Turkey for that of any of her neighbours. As these changes have steadily advanced, the resources of the country have been gradually developed, and its commerce has extended from year to year. Seminaries of instruction in literature, science, and the arts have been established, and the learning of Europe has been made accessible to many

by the study of foreign languages. A body of military officers of respectable acquirements, and capable of being compared in that respect with those of some nations of higher pretensions, have been trained in the military schools; in short, it may not be too much to say that the progress of Turkey in all that indicates advancement in the art of governing well, is such, that several of the Christian nations of Europe cannot pretend to boast of, and would do well to imitate. This steady progress has been effected in the face of difficulties systematically aggravated and multiplied by the intrigues, and active, though secret hostility of Russia.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION—THE PRESENT WAR.

In a previous chapter of this narrative the rapid and striking extension of the Russian empire since the accession of Peter I. in 1689, has been briefly stated. It will readily be observed that Turkey has not been the greatest sufferer by the steady and stealthy aggrandisement of Russia; nor is the Ottoman empire the only state that is interested in setting limits to Muscovite aggression. The ambition and savage energy of Peter I. led him to contemplate the most extensive and daring projects. These projects he bequeathed to his successors; and although the crown has frequently been transferred by open violence or secret crime from one head to another, yet each successive sovereign, with hardly an exception, has made some progress towards the attainment of these objects, and they continue to be prosecuted with unabated avidity.

The designs of Peter were to raise Russia upon the ruins of Turkey, to obtain exclusive possession of the Caspian and the Black Seas, with the Bosphorus and Dardanelles; to extend his dominions beyond the Caucasus; to establish an ascendancy in Persia, with a view to open the road to India. The pertinacity and success with which a predetermined course of aggrandisement has been prosecuted, is without a parallel in the history of nations. Russia now begins to assume a sort of prescriptive right to carry out her designs, and she effects to regard as unreasonable and presumptuous

the right of other powers not to permit her to set at defiance the international laws established among civilized states, and to trample, in the pursuit of her lawless ambition, upon the acknowledged rights of independent powers.

The uniform pertinacity and caution of Russia are no less remarkable, than the means are dishonourable which she has employed to obtain her acquisitions. The first step towards aggrandisement, is a process of disorganization by means of corruption and secret agency, pushed so far, that disorder and civil contentions necessarily arise. These are followed by military occupation under the pretence of restoring tranquillity, and this friendly protection is followed by incorporation. Such are some of the means by which Poland, Finland, the Crimea, Georgia, and other states have been added to the Russian dominions. The Caspian sea she has appropriated to herself; the plains of Tartary have excited her cupidity, while several states of Europe and Asia have been dismembered to augment her dominion. The acquisitions she has made from Sweden, are greater than what remains of that kingdom; her share of Poland is as large as the whole Austrian empire; the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe, is nearly equal in extent to the dominions of Prussia; the provinces she has acquired from Turkey in Asia, are as large as all the smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces, Belgium, and Holland taken together. In the further pursuit of her schemes in the East, she has conquered from Persia states equal in area to England; and her acquisitions from Tartary are as large as Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain. In the last eighty-two years, the territory she has acquired is greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time.

The facility with which the Russian army has crossed the Pruth, and descended upon Turkey, is sufficiently indicative of the danger to which Constantinople is exposed. The attitude she has assumed in Asia, in having acquired the possession of the mountain passes and of the fortresses on the frontiers of Armenia, indicates her designs on Asiatic Turkey. The Araxis is only nominally her southern frontier in Asia. She possesses important positions to

the south of that river, which although of no real value, afford her the utmost facility for future aggression. In 1834 she threatened to occupy Ghilan, one of the most valuable parts of Persia, as the security for the payment of £250,000 of indemnity still due to her. At a previous period the Russian general Paskewitch finding himself at Erzerum, on the banks of a branch of the Euphrates, and not far from the Tigris, conceived the project of descending these rivers and occupying the modern capital of Assyria and Mesopotamia. This enterprise however was not abandoned from any want of desire to carry it into execution. Owing to the critical position of Diebitch on the Balkan, it was thought advisable under the circumstances not to hazard a failure on the side of Asia. By every movement in Persia, Russia is weakening the power of Turkey; and in concert with her aggressive policy in Europe, she has long been preparing the means for the final subjugation of the Ottoman empire.

Independent of the ultimate consequences which might flow from an undue ascendancy of Russia in Asiatic Turkey, the immediate interests of Great Britain are at stake. By the position which Russia occupies on the Araxis, she has advanced within nine miles of the only line of communication by which British manufactures to the value of two millions sterling are yearly carried through Turkey into Persia, and within ninety miles of Trebizond, on the Black Sea, the port from which it leads. The effect of the possession of this important highway by Russia, may be inferred from her commercial system generally. She is our rival in the markets of Persia, and she has put a stop to the transit trade through Georgia, because it interfered with her trade with Persia carried on by the Caspian, of which she has exclusive command. Independent, therefore, of the intrigues of Russia in Persia, with the design to push her frontiers towards the east, and to increase her power in the countries bordering the Indus, Great Britain has a direct and immediate interest, besides the duty she owes to Turkey, in securing the independence of the countries to the east of the Euxine, and in erecting a permanent barrier between Russia and the Turkish and Persian empires.

In Europe, Russia has been no less industrious in preparing the way for the subjugation of the northern provinces of Turkey. Bulgaria, stretching along the southern banks of the Danube, from above Widdin to the Euxine, for nearly four hundred miles, is a rich and beautiful country, and inhabited by about two millions of Bulgarians, Slavonians, and Turks. Its exports are considerable, and it has iron mines of great value, which have for centuries been successfully worked; and the neighbouring countries are supplied with its manufactures of iron and leather. In the principal town, Sophia, the clang of the hammer is incessant. The peasant population are industrious, cleanly, and prosperous; they are better dressed, better housed, and in easier circumstances than the agricultural population of most of the other countries in Europe. There is nowhere a Slavonic peasant population of nearly equal amount, that in these respects can bear comparison with the peasants of Bulgaria which have been subject to the Turks for five hundred years. In Russia there is nowhere a body of peasants, bond or free, Greek, Latin, or Lutheran, who, in their most ambitious dreams, could have imagined, far less aspired to, the material welfare of the Bulgarian. But Russia has already commenced her demoralizing system in that country. An English gentleman who visited Bulgaria a few years ago, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of a contest between the Christians and the Mahometans in the districts near Widdin, found that it had been produced by the active intrigues of secret foreign agency, exciting the Christians to revolt, and at the same time inflaming the anger of the Mahometans, and urging them on to acts of violence. After the disturbances had been suppressed, the same gentleman pays a high compliment to the forbearance and tact of the Turkish government, as furnishing a profitable lesson to the other cabinets of Europe, which have been similarly situated, but have acted differently. But these are not the most dangerous means of demoralizing the population to which Russia has recourse. "She employs," he says, "her ecclesiastics in an organized scheme to poison the minds of the rising generation, and has taken advantage of the religious toleration of Turkey, to convert the schools for religious instruc-

tion into seminaries for inculcating treason. It is by education that this deep-laid scheme is in the course of active execution; no less than twenty-one schools have been instituted of late in different towns of Bulgaria for this purpose; the teachers have all come from Kiew in Russia. Hatred to the Sultan, and attachment to the Czar, are assiduously taught; and their catechism in the Slavonic tongue, which was translated to me, is more political than religious, while it openly alludes to the incorporation of Bulgaria in the Russian empire." Such is the *protection* which Russia demands that the Sultan shall give her a right to exercise over the Greek church in Turkey, and which Russia requires the Sultan to engage himself by a treaty with her to maintain. It is while making religious instruction the instrument of her perfidy that she complains of the injustice of suspecting that her acquisition of the right to *protect* 11,000,000 of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, can in any degree interfere with his sovereign rights, or the security and tranquillity of the Ottoman empire. It is only affirming a simple fact to say, that the integrity and independence of Turkey, and the concession of that demand, are totally incompatible with each other.

It is well known that the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which Russia now occupies for the eighth time, have long excited her cupidity. These countries, remarkable for their fertility, contain a population of nearly two millions. In all ages they have had a large surplus of grain to dispose of, and were the granaries of the legions of Trajan, as they have been of the Russian armies. During the last eighty-five years, they have been occupied more than thirty by the Muscovite armies, and have been the battlefield of the Russian and the Turk in not less than twenty campaigns. For nearly a quarter of a century they have been exempted from the evils of war, and their produce has continued to increase, and the trade, especially with England, to extend. The first cargo of corn taken by an English ship, was shipped at Galatz in 1834. From two hundred and fifty to three hundred now find cargoes annually at that port and Brahilow, and, together with foreign vessels engaged in the trade, bring to this country above

five thousand quarters of grain, besides other produce. About two hundred thousand quarters find their way to Britain through indirect channels. The whole of our imports from these countries are paid for in British manufactures, and the trade has been extending every year. The total export of grain from Wallachia and Moldavia now amounts to nearly five millions of quarters. The obstructions in the navigation of the Danube arising through the premeditated designs of Russia, operates largely against the Principalities as well as against all the grain-producing countries to the west. The object which the Emperor of Russia has in view in fettering and interrupting the free navigation of this important river, is to draw, if possible, all the commerce of the Euxine to Odessa, and thereby aggrandize his own empire at the expense of adjoining states. It becomes therefore a matter of the utmost importance, not only to Turkey but to the whole of western and central Europe, that henceforth Russia shall exercise no control over the navigation of the Danube.

Russia, then, has taken possession of these important provinces, as a "material guarantee," that Turkey shall fulfil the stipulations contained in former treaties, according to the interpretation put upon them by Russia, to the effect, that the Sultan shall absolutely transfer the *right of protection* of his Christian subjects to the Emperor of Russia. The question of the "Holy Places" need scarcely be mentioned: it was speedily adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned; yet this question of the Holy Places was the ostensible reason of Prince Menchikoff's embassy, and the only one made known by the Czar.

It would be as uninteresting as it is unnecessary to enter into an examination of the grounds upon which the Emperor of Russia founds an excuse for the invasion of Turkey; suffice it to say, that his armies have occupied part of the Turkish territory in contempt of the public law, and the unanimous opinion of Europe. Statements the most unfounded have been put forth, in hopeless attempts to excuse so revolting a violation of good faith; and manifestoes have been published, which all Europe knows to be menda-

cious, bearing the signature of a Christian sovereign, the Head of a Christian church!

When the Russian army entered the principalities in 1853, the Turks, as in 1828, offered no opposition, but contented themselves with strengthening and occupying in force the fortresses on the Danube. It was an opinion generally entertained that the Turks would be totally incapable of offering a successful resistance to the numerous and disciplined armies of Russia; but this opinion has been totally controverted.

In a succession of brilliant actions upon the Danube, in which the talents of their commander and the bravery and discipline of their troops have been equally conspicuous, the Turks, in every instance, have been victorious; and finally, after a desperate attack upon Silistria, in which their whole available strength was put forward, the battalions of Russia have recoiled before the Ottoman arms.

If France and England have been tardy in accepting the combat, it may be considered as an indication that they foresaw the magnitude and importance of the contest. Now that a hundred thousand Anglo-French troops are marching to the immediate theatre of hostilities, that the allied fleets, the most powerful which the world has yet seen, seal hermetically every port in Russia, from the Black Sea to the Northern Ocean, that Austria, from a doubtful neutrality, has assumed an attitude of hostility to the Czar, the defeat and total discomfiture of Russia can surely not be far distant. Human thought cannot foresee the ultimate effects of the present contest upon the destinies of the East, but for the present, the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire is secure.

GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND CHARACTER OF THE TURKS.

There are two distinct races in Turkey—the Mahometan and the Christian. There are three or four millions of the former in Europe scattered over a territory containing twelve or thirteen millions of the latter, yet this small proportion of

the followers of Mahomet hold all the rest in entire subjection. It is a fundamental maxim of the Turkish government, that the Mussulmans alone are to be called upon to combat either foreign or domestic enemies; but the Christians are to be made to contribute to the expense of the armaments, and to uphold by their industry the strength of the empire: they are all armed and ready to become soldiers; they are in possession of the whole fortresses, harbours, and strongholds of the kingdom, and they have the command of the government, the treasury, the capital, and the great cities, while there is a complete unity of action and identity of purpose in the dominant race.

The Christians are composed of a vast variety of tribes and races, who have no community of kindred, feelings, language or interests, and thus the Turks without difficulty maintain the ascendancy. But if the whole military strength of the empire depends upon the Turks, the whole civil administration, negotiations, pacific institutions, letters, the arts, commerce, manufactures, industry, navigation, are all in the hands of the Christians. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the inevitable ascendancy of mind over matter, of intelligence over physical strength, than the destinies of the Greek people.

One great cause of the weakness of the Ottoman empire is, that it is not in fact, *one state*, in the European sense of the word. It is rather an aggregate of separate states, owing only a nominal allegiance to the central power, and only yielding it effective support when the vigour or capacity of the ruling Sultan leaves them no alternative but to render it. The Pashas, indeed, are often in substance independent; they pay only a fixed tribute to the Sultan, and they are bound to send, in case of need, a certain body of troops to his support. They generally delay as long as possible, and when they do arrive, they are not unfrequently too late. Czerny George, at the head of the strength of Servia, maintained a prolonged contest with the Ottoman forces. Ali Pashi, the "Lion of Janina," long set the whole power of the Sultan at defiance. The treachery of the Pasha of Scodra and the disaffection of other Pashas, brought about the disasters of 1829. The Pasha of Egypt, by whose

aid alone the balance was cast against the Greeks in 1827, brought the dominions of the Osmanlis to the verge of ruin, from whence they were rescued by the intervention, still more perilous, of Russia.

There cannot possibly be a stronger proof of the long mal-administration of Turkey, than the extremely small amount of the public revenue, compared with its extent and material resources,—the entire amount of which is from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000. It is raised by a tithe on agricultural produce and animals, and a tax of 17 per cent. on incomes, in all 27 per cent. on landed property. In ancient times the Turkish empire maintained four times its present inhabitants and yielded five times the present revenue.

Russia, however, with all its boasted power and its vast territory and its 60,000,000 of inhabitants, does not yield a revenue treble the present revenue of Turkey. The genius of Turkish policy is purely Asiatic. The Sultan is entirely despotic, and unites within himself, like the first Caliphs, the whole temporal and spiritual power of the state. In Turkey birth confers no privileges. The Sultan is the sole fountain of honour, and he humbles and exalts whom he will, and he can dispose of the lives and properties of his subjects. But it is not to be supposed that the power of the monarch is continually exerted in acts of violence, injustice, and cruelty. Under political constitutions of every species, unless when some frantic tyrant happens to hold the sceptre, the ordinary administration of the government must be conformable to the principles of justice; and if not active in promoting the welfare of the people, cannot certainly have their destruction for its object. Under the Turkish government the political condition of every subject is equal. To be employed in the service of the Sultan is the only circumstance that confers distinction, and this distinction is so closely annexed to the station in which any individual serves that it is scarcely communicated to the person of him who fills it. The highest dignity in the empire does not give any rank or pre-eminence to the family of him who enjoys it. As every man, before he is raised to any station of authority, must go through the preparatory discipline of a long and servile obedience, the moment he is deprived of power, he returns to the same con-

dition with other subjects, and sinks back into obscurity. It is the distinguishing and odious character of Eastern despotism, that it annihilates all other ranks of men, in order to exalt the monarch; that it leaves nothing to the former, while it gives everything to the latter; that it endeavours to fix in the minds of those who are subject to it, the idea of no relation between men, but that of a master and slave, the master to command and to punish, the slave to tremble and obey. The Turkish casuists declare that the Sultan is above the law, and attribute to him a character of holiness which no immoral conduct can destroy, and his actions are regarded as prescribed by inevitable fate.

There can, indeed, be no constitutional restraint upon the will of a prince in a despotic government; but there may be such as are accidental. Absolute as the Turkish Sultans are, they find themselves, to a certain extent, circumscribed both by religion, the principle on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the instrument which they must employ in order to maintain it. The power of the Sultan is supposed to be balanced in some degree by the Grand Mufti and Ulema, the former called prelate of Orthodoxy, the latter, the judges and ministers of religion; but as Baron de Tott observes, though they can interpret the law as they please, and animate the people against their sovereign; he, on the other hand, can with a single word depose and banish the Mufti and as many of the Ulema as may fall under his displeasure. Such restraints form but a feeble barrier against the sallies of passion, pride and selfishness, supported by unlimited power; and hence the Sultan is styled by his subjects, "The unmuzzled lion."

The most natural, the most powerful and effectual check to tyranny, is found to reside in the people. Hence, the mob of Constantinople has compelled the sovereigns to listen to the public voice and to hear truths which none of their ministers had dared to breathe. The tumultuous movements of a populace, however, seldom stop with the redress of grievances; and in Turkey especially, they have not unfrequently been followed by the deposition or execution of the monarch himself.

* Since the time of Soliman the evils of absolute power

have been greatly aggravated in Turkey, by the ignorance and effeminacy of those who are called to exercise it. The princes of the blood are confined in the *Cafsse*, a palace in the *Seraglio*, attended by only four or five eunuchs as their pages, and a few female slaves old enough not to become mothers. With minds uncultivated by education, and bodies enervated by idleness and indulgence, they are little prepared for the important and difficult duties which may await them; and when they are called to the throne, they often abandon the affairs of state to the mercy of a page or a black eunuch; rendered hideous by his physical impotence, who becomes the dispenser of the dignities of the empire. When the sovereign of the Ottoman empire, therefore, at any time rises superior to the difficulties of his situation, and directs with energy and discretion the affairs of the state, he must be possessed of no common talents.

The civil government of Turkey is carried on by a Vizier and other ministers, who form a *divan*, or grand council of state, which, on solemn occasions, is called upon to direct the sovereign by their advice. The Grand Vizier, the Lord High Admiral, two military judges, the Grand Treasurer, the Chief of the war department, the Grand Purveyor, and the *Nishandji Effendi*, who affixes the seal of the Grand Seignior to public acts, are the members of this body. All the affairs of the empire come under the inspection of the Grand Vizier. He is the supreme judge in civil and criminal affairs, from whose sentence there is no appeal. But his responsibility is in proportion to his duty. He is held responsible alike by the people and the sovereign for all the misfortunes which befall the state, and such is the danger to which this minister is exposed, that, especially during the decline of the Turkish empire, he rarely escaped confiscation or exile, or a sudden death. Some remain a day, a week, and a month; others protract the thread to a year or two; "but at length," said a Grand Vizier, "they are like the ant, to which God gives wings for its speedier destruction."

The provinces are governed by *Pashas*, *Sareskiers*, *Agas*, and *Waivodes*; these are divided into several ranks, and each represents the Sultan within the limits of his own jurisdiction, and is accountable to the Sultan alone. The revenue,

the administration of justice, and the military force of the province, are intrusted to the Pasha, who owes his appointment to the Sultan, and is deposed and punished without the liberty of complaint or remonstrance.

The theocratical or spiritual branch of the Ottoman constitution is exercised by the Ulema, who are selected from a body of clerical students, chiefly from Syria and Asia Minor. Constantinople alone contains ten thousand of them, and they are declared to be the most savage, the most fanatical, the most turbulent, and the worst subjects in the empire. The officiating ministers of religion form the lowest class. Besides these there are several orders of *dervises*, who are held in great veneration by the vulgar. "They are," says le Bruyn, "loose souls, notorious hypocrites, and commonly great drunkards." The Ulema are endowed with great privileges. They are exempted from taxes, and their property is hereditary in their families and not liable to confiscation. When the Sultan wishes the sanction of religion to any act of importance, he must obtain their consent; but their consent is a matter of form, or is desirable merely to secure more implicit respect from the people. In fact the Sultan can command the consent of the Mufti to any measure, as his continuance in office depends upon the will of the Sultan.

The laws of this country, both civil and criminal, are founded upon the precepts of the Koran; the example and opinions of Mahomet; the precepts of the four first caliphs; and the decisions of the learned doctors upon disputed cases. These are digested in one large volume under the title of *Multeka*, and form the universal code of the empire.

Minutely specifying almost all the particulars of government, containing every direction for the regulation of the interests of society, as it existed around the dwelling of Mahomet, and the cradle of his religion, it is necessarily inapplicable to a different state of society, where separate interests have arisen, and unforeseen difficulties have emerged. The priests are the expounders of the law. The Sultan possesses the delegated authority of Mahomet; and the Koran is the supreme code in all matters civil and religious, from which there is no appeal. Reform of institutions,

therefore, is difficult, in a Mahometan state; for it can be attempted only at the hazard of destroying the great bond of nationality, Mahometanism itself.

From the obscurity and ambiguity of many of the injunctions of the Multeka, much is left to the discretion of the judges; and as there is no appeal from their decisions, they give themselves little trouble about the niceties of evidence or formality of precedent. The mode of administering justice is indeed sufficiently simple and expeditious, but leads to continual injustice from the ignorance and cupidity of the judges. The *Cadi* or judge determines all matters civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical. The decision is prompt and final; but it often depends upon the previous bribe, more than the justice of the case. "It is difficult to do justice," said one Cadi to another, "when one party is rich and the other poor." "No," replied his colleague, "I find no difficulty in that case, for then I decide, of course, for the rich; the only difficulty is when both are rich, for then I do not know to what side to incline."

The civil and criminal laws of Turkey have been greatly improved under the rule of the present Sultan and his predecessor. The Koran has been interpreted anew, to serve the great cause of human advancement. Its direction to believers "to bring light from China," has been used to sanctify the introduction of the arts of Western Europe; and to make the introduction of military science popular, Mahometans were reminded that the arms even of the enemy might be used against himself. "Provinces," says a modern writer, "that were ravaged by incessant civil wars; that were by turns a prey to the rapacity of the predominant pasha within, or the lust and brutality of armed bandits from without, have been brought within the influence of Constantinople. Officials who exacted presents and sold justice, have been subjected to the utmost rigour of the law. The slave-market has been suppressed, and slaves have been surrounded with the protecting spirit of government, so that at the present moment, no master may ill-use them. A new and merciful code of laws has been drawn up, and commerce has been re-arranged on the French model." Thus it will be seen, that the Turk born in the present time, does

not enter upon a scene so barbarous as that upon which his grandfather played a part.—There are indeed a class in Turkey, principally capitalists and landowners, who are reputed to be a grave, dignified, intensely prejudiced class of men; who, in short, may be called the Turkish Tories who long for the times when the pashas were tyrants; when the slave market was brisk in the open squares of Constantinople; and when the Koran was interpreted in defence of oppression and wrong. They look upon all reforms which have been going on during the last thirty years as so many hopeless attempts to restore animation to a dead body. This class, however, are hospitable, religious, and scrupulously moral in life; but they are known to be crafty, and when roused, cruel. They are declared fatalists, and they see their property fall from them without a murmur. There are other Ottomans, who vehemently espouse the reforms of the Sultan, and wish to place the Turkish empire in its proper relation with the civilised states of Europe. This enlightened class have encountered many difficulties from the bigotry of the old school, and have risen from a state of absolute barbarism to one of comparative civilization. Thirty years ago, there were relentless confiscations, tyrannical imprisonments, arbitrary judgments, an organized system of general robbery, corruption in every department of the administration, and irresponsible pashas, pillaging at their will. Against all this disorder and wrong, Turkish reformers have struggled manfully; and if, at the present moment, the Ottoman empire presents a spectacle of comparative barbarism in close contrast to advanced civilization, the advances it has made during the last thirty years, from anarchy to some kind of order and law, tempt us to hope, that the nation has fairly commenced that march of improvement, which will ere long place it on an equality with contemporary states.

The *Multèqua* was written in the Arabic language in 1549; and in 1824, it was remodelled and translated into the Turkish language. It is divided into eight codes, the religious, the political, the military, the civil, the code of civil and criminal processes, the penal code, and the code which regulates hunting and shooting.

The reformed *Multèqua* regulates the treatment of slaves, the claims between husband and wife, and the succession to property. Slaves are daily decreasing in number; and the open slave-traffic is prohibited through the Ottoman empire. The slave is allowed to be a witness in a law court, and has equal rights before the law with his master. The slave may rise to an eminent position in the state, and is not, as in America, a creature to be universally shunned. The *Multèqua* also provides for the distribution of property at death, and proceeds upon principles of justice which might be safely followed by those who, perhaps, might despise to follow a Turkish law. It is also strict in enforcing the inviolability of a believer's house, which is nowhere else so strictly his castle. "No domiciliary visit can be effected in Constantinople under any circumstances without a written order from the Grand Vizier. This order must be carried by a legal functionary, accompanied, in the case of a Turk, by the Imam of the neighbourhood; in the case of a Greek or Armenian, by the superior of his church; and in that of a Jew by the Rabbi; but whether in a Mussulman's house, or in that of an infidel, the officers may not enter the women's apartments, until the women have left them."

Previously the punishment of death was in the hands of petty provincial tyrants; but the penal code now in force, introduced in 1840, is a great improvement on the old penal laws. The first article of this code declares "that the Sultan promises not to inflict death upon any subject who has not been tried by competent judges, and condemned according to established law; and threatens with capital punishment any Vizier who shall henceforth take the life of a subject on his own responsibility." Capital punishment is inflicted for exciting Ottomans to revolt, and for assassination. Robbery is punished with imprisonment; and periods of confinement or banishment are awarded to public officers who fail to discharge their functions honestly. Every subject of the Sultan is by this law equal in the eyes of the judge without regard to race or religion. The famous decrees regulating the powers of the government officers, the administration of the national treasury, and the

organization of the police were published in 1846. The administration of the Pashas is generally oppressive and destructive, yet the system of the government is by no means tyrannical, and in some respects is wise and tolerant to a degree which may afford an example to or excite the envy of many of the Christian powers. In 1850 the Turkish government, pursuing its measures of reform, issued a new commercial code of laws, of three hundred and fifteen articles, regulating the internal and external trade of the empire.

These enlightened decrees, coupled with that great reform made in the educational establishments of the Ottoman empire, are calculated to produce a most important and beneficial revolution in the state. On the first of September 1845, the first stone of a great Turkish university was laid on the site of the old barrack of the Janizaries. Education was taken from the hands of the Mahometan priesthood, and the children began to be taught the great truths of the world. Every Turk must send his child to school, and the state charges itself with his instruction. Thus when the child of a Turk has reached its sixth year, the father is compelled to present himself before the moukhtar or municipal chief of his locality, and to inscribe the child's name on the register of the Mekteb, or primary school, unless he can satisfactorily prove that he has the intention and means of giving his progeny instruction proper to his age at home. To enforce this law among the labouring population, no employer is allowed to take a boy as apprentice who is not furnished with a certificate from his mekteb, declaring that he has gone through the prescribed studies. These studies consist of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the principles of religion and morals. In 1851 there were no fewer than three hundred and ninety-six mektebs in Constantinople, mustering twenty-two thousand seven hundred scholars. These mektebs are divided into fourteen groups with a committee for each group, charged with the duty of inspecting each mekteb, and regulating each and recording its progress.

Other schools are established at the expense of the state for more advanced youths, and are of recent creation; yet,

in 1851, the six then established included eight hundred and seventy scholars. In these schools a Turkish boy is taught the Arab grammar and syntax, orthography, composition, sacred history, Ottoman history, universal history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of geometry. The learning which flourishes in the Turkish university includes all those studies in vogue throughout the universities of Europe. To the schools of the government have recently been added separate academies for the study of agriculture and veterinary science.

These reforms have encountered great opposition from the party who esteem themselves the orthodox Mussulmans, the stronghold of which is in the Ulemas. Their material interests and power are concerned in the question; and this selfishness and bigotry can only be rooted out by the progress of learning.

Perhaps the most important establishment in Turkey is the Greek Commercial school at Halki. This school sprung up in 1849, and has rapidly increased in importance and reputation. It now numbers one hundred and eighty scholars; and at present there is not sufficient room to lodge all the candidates for admission. The students are nearly all of the higher order, or better sort of merchants' sons, and they pay about thirty pounds a-year, including every extra. The utmost attention is paid to their instruction, diet, and general comfort, and their recreation and discipline are of the most liberal and enlightened kind. French and English are taught; but no boy is allowed to learn those languages until he has completed his preparatory studies. "In the school of Halki," says a modern writer, "the traveller will find better means of judging of the future prospects of the vast empire of Turkey, than in the cabinet of princes, or at the dinner tables of ambassadors."

The whole range of profane history does not record so important a change, as that wrought in the East by Mahomet. Indulging in the sensuality of his countrymen, he licensed polygamy and concubinage in the Koran; and even propagated revelations from heaven to sanction his private excesses and sensuality. In the dexterous adaptation of the edicts of the Koran to the existing state of religion and

morals of the East, and to the powerful hold which, by its seeming simplicity, it acquired over his followers, and the seductive allurements of its indulgences, may be attributed the local success of Islamism over Christianity,—partly, also because the truth and light of the gospel had been corrupted by an admixture of idolatrous rites, and supplanted by spurious gospel traditions and legends, which no subsequent reformation either of doctrine or teaching could be brought to correct or sustain.

The doctrines of the Koran are a wild and incongruous mass of truth and fable, religious feeling and impiety; yet it indicates a very accurate knowledge of human nature, and a just perception of the nature of the people for whom it was intended. In place of the allegories of paganism, the high spiritualities of Christianity, and the typical ritual of Judaism, it offers to the contemplation of its votaries the most fascinating ideas of voluptuous enjoyment, in a material paradise. The sublimity of the most of the finest parts of the Koran may be traced to the language of the scriptures, and its doctrines are a compound of Christianity, of selections from Talmudic legends, apocryphal gospels, and fragments from oriental traditions and doctrines. These were clothed in the purest Arabic dialect, and imbued with an unrivalled excellence of composition, disclaiming all mysteries in religion, and maintaining the simple unity of God, and divine mission of Mahomet, as the last of the prophets, sent to close and perfect all foregoing revelations.

While the tenets of Mahomet thus pandered to the prejudices and reigning vices of the world by its sensual rewards and indulgences—while it wielded the sword of persecution in one hand and the Koran in the other, it cannot excite wonder that Christianity should have withered like a plant in an arid soil. Its doctrines and rewards are alike suited to a sensual people. Its intolerance engenders a spirit of pride and of unbending hostility against all the rest of mankind, whether Pagans, Jews, or Christians; while its precepts breathe an arbitrary and despotic sway over the lives and properties of men. It fosters ignorance by discrediting whatever is not contained in the revelations of the Koran, thus shutting up against its followers every avenue to im-

provement. Moreover it creates an apathy by its chilling tenet of fatalism.

The confirmation of this statement and the effects of Mahometanism may be found in considering the social and political condition of the people, and the state of the provinces which have fallen under its yoke. The deserts of the once fertile and populous regions of Asia Minor, and those solitudes which once teemed with plenty, exhibit its results. The Turks themselves are a monument of its degrading influence. The sad destiny of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, of Damascus, and Antioch, and countless numbers of illustrious cities once the glory of the East, have become a wasted prey, and their greatness remains only in the memory of the past. The Turks, as has already been stated, early adopted this religion; and their rapid career of greatness and decay, can closely be traced to the doctrines of the Koran.

The large and civilising spirit of true Christianity is not only shown in the liberal and enlightened views which direct the legislators of a country, but is to be traced as well through all the other channels of thought, and of manufacturing and productive industry. Its law-giving character at once destroys every germ of superstition which would oppose itself to improvement, and conducts the mind to the discovery of new and profounder truths which are but the harbingers of further advancement. Accordingly, when the spirit of discovery is awakened in the sciences, it anon develops itself in the direction of the arts. It is thus that the broad and far-seeing genius of Christianity originates progress in every direction. It is assimilated in its nature to the constitution of the universe, and gradually unfolds the principles which regulate the material world, and directs the eye of investigation to the mysterious nature of the human mind itself. Thus Christianity is not merely a code of religious and moral truth adapted to the mental constitution of man, but it is an intellectual organon or method of thinking, infinitely larger and profounder than those of Aristotle or Bacon, out of whose bosom has sprung all that is great and good in modern philosophy, science, literature, and manners. How different is the case with Islamism!

The promises of sensual and sensuous enjoyment held out in the Koran, and the principles of fatalism inculcated by its doctrines, may give rise to personal bravery in its adherents, but out of it can spring no new truth. These and its other doctrines are grossly empirical and strikingly at variance with the higher principles of man's nature, and hence, instead of expanding, they blind his intellectual and moral vision. Looking at the universe through the eyes of the Koran, the Mussulman can see nothing but a dark and invariable fatality, and hence discovery or progress is not possible for him. Thus while Christianity is in harmony with the profoundest physical and moral truths, the religion of Mahomet touches no such inquiries, but sets up the impenetrable barrier of fatalism against all investigation. Hence the progress that has been made in the sciences and arts of life, by Christian and civilized Europe, while the Mussulman in point of true civilization has remained for a thousand years nearly stationary. With the exception of what he has imported from Christian Europe he has made no advancement; he has no true philosophy, poetry or literature, and his disappearance before the enlightening spirit of Christianity is just as certain as any natural event in the material world.

There are no people on earth, about whose character so contradictory opinions have been expressed as that of the Turks. By some they are held up as patterns for imitation; by others as objects of abhorrence. Both are perhaps equally wrong. The Turks vary very considerably in the different provinces, and also in the towns and villages; but their general character partakes of the nature of their government and religion. As compared with the people of Western Europe, they are proud, morose, and austere; and the natural effect of a purely despotic government is to render those who fall immediately under its influence, fawning, deceitful, and selfish. That they are brave and determined, no one need be told; but it is not equally well known, says a celebrated historian, how worthy they are, and how many excellent traits of character are revealed in their private life. Fearless, honest, and trustworthy, their word is their bond, and they are destitute of the restless

spirit and envious disposition which so often in Western Europe and in America, at once disturb happiness and provoke to crime. They are temperate, charitable, sober, and cleanly; and there are many virtues common to the Turks that would do honour to any nation. In their villages, where there is no admixture of Greeks, innocence of life and simplicity of manners are conspicuous, and roguery and deceit are unknown. Inactivity is their great characteristic, repose their chief enjoyment. Although sensual in their ideas of pleasure, they are moderate in its enjoyments; and starting from the lap of luxuriousness, they submit to the severest privations without grumbling. They are good relatives and husbands, and polygamy is far from being general among them. A harem is to most of them only an object of luxury and ostentation. Satisfied, if wealthy, with his own harem, which combines the idea of home and pleasure, the Turk has generally no ambition to invade that of his neighbour; and the enormous mass of female profligacy which infests the great cities of Western Europe is unknown. Nothing excites the horror of the Osmanlis so much as the details of the foundling hospitals, and fearful multitude of natural children in Vienna and Paris. They cannot conceive how society can exist under such an accumulation of evils. Though capable, when roused either by religious fanaticism or military excitement, of the most frightful deeds of cruelty, they are far, in ordinary life, from being of a savage disposition. They are kind to their wives, passionately fond of their children, charitable to the poor, and even extend their benevolent feeling to dumb animals. Their friendship is sometimes exalted to heroism; their courage daring and chivalrous, and at other times it manifests itself in a stoical indifference.

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FULLARTON AND MACNAB, PRINTERS, LEITH WALK.







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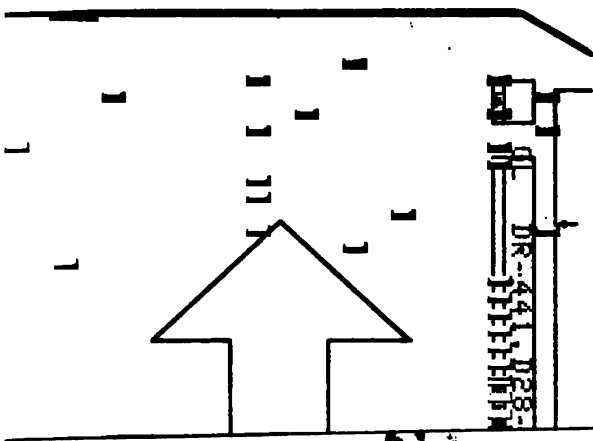
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